The Production of the City as a White Space

Representing and Restructuring Identity and Architecture, Cape Town, 1892-1936.

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Abstract

English values, architects and architectural ideas played a major role in shaping identities, architecture and power relations in Cape Town between 1892-1936. Driven by an uncompromising belief in the universal desirability of Englishness and Western architecture and culture, they manifested a tension between a romanticised, historical, rural ideal, and an urban dystopia, the compromised resolution of which lay in suburban housing schemes. The discourse, images, public events and built space produced through this tension resulted in the deliberate – and occasionally unintentional – restructuring of class and racial identities (and thence power relations) at the Cape in the following ways:

1. The Cape Dutch revival and preservation movement, initially generated out of Arts & Crafts ideals, became the rallying point around which (i) a common English/Afrikaner national identity was formed, (ii) Empire and land possession was legitimised as a continuation of the project of "civilisation" and "History," and (iii) an English landed gentry was re-realised at the Cape.

2. Poorer buildings and materials, and the old dense parts of Cape Town such as Wells Square in District Six, were socially, culturally, racially and materially heterogeneous, and the anti-aesthetic to English architectural ideals. Discourse around these spaces defined the inhabitants and the very fabric of these "slums" as "Other" and laid the groundwork for the eventual removal of these "Others" and conditions of "hybrid-Otherness" from the city.

3. The suburban housing schemes were initially generated out of the ideas of the Garden City Movement and "model cottages." Attempts to restructure "the Other" as "Same" through these projects were abandoned as the English ideal gave way to economic compromises and the tendency to view "Natives" as non-permanent residents of the city. The resulting housing was effectively neutered, bordered and controlled, thereby removing the visible presence of "Others" and temporarily obscuring the effects of colonialism.

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This thesis is in memory of my father, who told us some good stories.

Preface

My education in architectural history began with Dr. Barrie Biermann. Barrie was a likeable professor who possessed a genius for perfectly drawing The History of Architecture on the blackboard in chalk. Cut-away axonometrics were placed side-by-side with elevations and plans, all drawn from memory. The duster was used as a proportioning device. Of course, it was largely the history of Western architecture that Barrie reproduced so brilliantly. There was, however, occasional reference to South African architects or buildings, and in particular, Cape Dutch architecture, which had been the topic of his doctoral thesis. It was also the topic of a later book that linked the architecture of the homesteads and the wine produced there. Like most South Africans (this is an ironic statement), I was aware of these buildings of the Cape and the beauty of their surroundings, but Barrie had the knack of making them "come alive." But it was more than that. It was also the vague awareness that I had "come from there," that sometime, three hundred years ago a settler Coetzer or a variant thereof, had perhaps lived in one of those houses. Or maybe something not so grand.

My *political* education in architecture began in 1990 with a Second Year trip to the Lamontville Location – a suburb of Durban designated for "Blacks." Of course, I was already keenly aware that my education itself was political, that my whole life was political – the country was in mid-revolution after all – but it was really the first time I had thought of architecture as "political." It was our guide, a resident, who pointed to the large stadium-output pylon "street" lights that dotted the township and reported somewhat nonchalantly that they had been put there so that the security police could swoop on the township at any time to find "subversives." It was always day there and everyone could be seen moving around at all times. They were purposefully so high in the air that it was impossible to knock the lights out.

For the rest, Lamontville didn't seem such a bad place to live, although the houses were smaller than any "White" suburb. Yet, there seemed to be a community living there, and people had "done-up" their houses to give them some kind of individual identity. There were fences and trellises with vines growing. There were two-storey houses. And this was the reason of our visit: to see how people had adapted an Apartheid-government house type – called the 51/9 – to their own needs. We were to design an additional garden flat out the back that could be leased to individuals or something that grandparents could move into. Our design studio laboured over the next few months trying to find ways to extend and alter a house unit that was almost impossible to add on to, thanks to its extremely efficient planning. It was not difficult to realise that houses could have such a direct impact on the lives of the people who lived in them, constricting and defining their opportunities.

It was only a number of years later that I was informed that Barrie Biermann had been one of the designers of the 51/9 back in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Not that it demanded a view of Barrie as the Albert Speer of Apartheid architecture, but it was an uncomfortable paradox nevertheless. One that was messy and somehow involved my identity and "their" identity linked through the narrative of two building types. That "they" were

somehow living the same as me, yet, slightly less. That “they” lived in a perpetual daylight that was to be feared whilst “we” slept in darkness, free from harm.

Abbreviations

AA	*African Architect*
AB&E	*Architect, Builder & Engineer*
CCC	Cape Town City Council (originally Capetown City Council)
CE	City Engineer
CHB	Central Housing Board
CHL	Citizen's Housing League
CIA	Cape Institute of Architects
CNL	Commission on a Native Location for Cape Town
CPPA	Cape Peninsula Publicity Association
CUS	Closer Union Society
GCM	Garden City Movement
H&EC	Housing & Estates Committee
HMC	Historical Monuments Commission
I&PC	Improvements & Parks Committee
MGV	Maitland Garden Village
MOH	Medical Officer of Health
NAC	Native Affairs Committee
NUAA	Native (Urban Areas) Act
PH&BRC	Public Health & Building Regulations Committee
SAAR	*South African Architectural Review*
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
SANS	South African National Society
SCSC	Slum Clearance Special Committee
UCT	University of Cape Town
WWI	World War One

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0.1 Orienting Aerial Photos: Cape Peninsula on the left, detail shown above. Suburbs are indicated as black text on white background. Building projects are shown as white text on black background. Unless indicated otherwise, all subsequent map illustrations are of a similar orientation with North to the top of the page.
KEY: D1 - District One; D2 - District Two; D6 - District Six; WS - Wells Square; RS - Roeland Street Scheme; MGV - Maitland Garden Village; GS1 - Groote Schuur; GS2 - Groot Constantia; W&I - Wood-and-Iron district.
Source: Reader's Digest, *Atlas of Southern Africa*. Labels by Author.

Introduction

The Issue

This thesis initially arose out of a seemingly simple question: 'How does architecture (or things architectural), come to be used to promote specific political agendas and ideological values?' The 'how' of the question obviously refers to the techniques involved, which include written and graphic representations as well as the material reality of buildings, places and spaces – what I have identified elsewhere as discourse, space and image.[1] For its part 'things architectural' hints that the concern is a broad one, and not just a focus on architect-designed buildings, but includes many aspects of the built environment and issues related to it. The final part of the question continues this broadening not only to include the kind of politics-as-culture of Albert Speer's architectural visions for Hitler,[2] but also the idea of culture-as-politics bubbling under in Gramsci's "hegemony"[3] and Foucault's "productive" power.[4]

A study of Cape Town in these terms, from 1892-1936, is fair game, as would be just about any time and place in the world touched by human intervention. Obviously though, Cape Town during this period brings with it a set of peculiar conditions. Firstly, it should be noted that the city (and its architects), was particularly English and English leaning during this phase.[5] English architects, clients, officials and bureaucrats (the stewards of the city),[6] controlled most of the means of representation and economic production, and were thus at the centre of this activity of making politics-as-culture and culture-as-politics. Furthermore, these stewards of the city simply looked to England for most of their architectural ideas. At its most simple then, this thesis *narrates* the ways in which architecture, or things architectural, came to be used to promote the specific political agendas and ideological values of the English at the Cape at the time.

A study of the unofficial journal of the Cape Institute of Architects, the *Architect, Builder & Engineer*, brings to light four issues of the day, namely, the promotion of the preservation and use of the Cape's early colonial architecture – now commonly known as Cape Dutch – as a national style; the use of town planning and other citywide interventions in the appearance and fabric of Cape Town; the presence of "slums" in Old Cape Town; and finally, the need for the "proper" housing of the urban poor, especially "natives" in what were then called "locations." The question that should be asked then, is, why are these issues necessarily to be considered political? Surely, they simply were indicative of the values that the English possessed rather than being motivated by some political agenda. Or, surely they

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[1] Coetzer, N., 'Building Power. Frank Lloyd Wright and the Structuring of Power Through the Built Environment,' (University of Colorado: Unpublished M.Arch Dissertation, 1996).
[2] Speer, A., *Inside the Third Reich*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970).
[3] Gramsci, A., *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971).
[4] Rabinow, P., *The Foucault Reader*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), p.61.
[5] Bickford-Smith comments that 'To be acceptably English all one had to do was to be White, English speaking, in favour of the Empire and, that ubiquitous Victorian virtue, respectable,' Bickford-Smith, V., *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Cape Town*, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995) p.39.
[6] See Appendix A.

were simply the politically neutral interests of the emerging modernist agenda: better housing, efficient traffic, in short, a well-managed city?

Given that this study concerns Cape Town from 1892-1936, it seems that postcolonial theory may provide some answers. The basic concept common to most of the exponents of this complex theory[7] is that the cultural activity of the coloniser is not neutral but an essential part of the process of political domination and continued exploitation. Central to this culture-as-politics are processes aimed at representing and restructuring the identity of the coloniser and the colonised such that the "self" (in this case the English stewards of the city) finds confirmation of "his" supremacy through representing the colonised as not being similar in culture and society or in any other way, to "himself." In short, the "English gentleman" sees himself as an "English gentleman" by not being a "barbarian." This conveniently hierarchical opposition between the "self" and "his" constructed Other has the effect of justifying the often-brutal subjugation and exploitation of the indigenous population. Yet the coloniser's unshakeable self-belief, or rather, belief in the Self (White, English and *cultured*), sets up a series of moves that attempts to render "the other" as "same." It is precisely at the point when the colonised begins to take on the traits and foibles of the coloniser, only, in a half-complete manner, that the convenient hierarchies central to colonisation start to unravel – not only is the destabilising hybridity that emerges impossible to manage and define, but the coloniser also sees the tenuous nature of his being in the disfigured representation of himself that "the other" as "same" presents. Here the coloniser sees, at last, the truth of the destructive rapacity of colonisation and attempts to resolve the contradictions of colonisation be removing the presence of hybrid-Otherness. In short, the visible disorder of hybridity must be made to disappear and the hierarchical order of Self and Other be maintained.

Yet the issues of identity in South Africa were far more complex than a simple polarity between the English as "self" and "Native" as "other" would allow. There was a hierarchy of Otherness that ranged from Afrikaans to Greek, Portuguese, Jewish, and other "dark" Europeans being closest to the idea of Englishness, followed by the predominantly Muslim "Malays," the creole "Coloureds," and Indians, whilst "Natives" were considered so distant as to instigate a debate as to whether or not "civilising" "them" was a plausible undertaking. Natives were further categorised as Christian "married Natives," or the "better class of Natives" as compared to the "migrant worker" or "raw kafir." Thus, the capitalised word "Other," as used in this thesis, mostly refers to all those who would have been considered non-English or "different" to the middle-class English who were so dominant in Cape Town during the period of study. In a similar manner the use of the words "Otherness" or "Other-spaces," refer to a generalised condition that was contrary to an English ideal. Those familiar with South Africa's racist history will be aware of how problematic some of the names of the groups listed above are. I have chosen to retain these names in this thesis, obviously not

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[7] For the pioneers and main exponents of postcolonial theory see, Fanon, F., *Black Skin, White Masks*, (London: Pluto Press, 1986); Said, E. W., *Culture and Imperialism*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1993); Said, E. W., *Orientalism. Western Conceptions of the Orient*, (London: Penguin Books, 1995); Spivak, G., *In Other Worlds. Essays in Cultural Politics*, (New York: Metheun, 1987); Bhabha, H., *The Location of Culture*, (London:

because I condone their use, but because they indicate the racial and ethnic identities that were being constructed, and largely given, by the English to these Others during the period of study. Furthermore, direct quotations contain original terms, some of which are offensive and illegal under recent South African legislation.[8]

Taking postcolonial theory into account suggests that this thesis cannot simply *narrate* the ways in which architecture, or things architectural, came to be used to promote the specific political agendas and ideological values of the English at the Cape at the time. It necessarily needs to interpret these events as largely the culture-as-politics of the British Empire and Englishness that, through the representing and restructuring of identity, had the continued dominance and exploitation of South Africa as its goal or effect. Put in its most simple form, the Cape Dutch preservation and revival movement was used to represent and restructure a valorised Self and legitimise the possession of the land whilst simultaneously dispossessing Others of History; the slums and town planning considerations were part of the representation of Otherness and allowed their dispossession from the fluid opportunities of the city; and finally the rehousing programmes can be seen as an attempt to restructure the Other as Same whilst removing the signs of hybridity. This thesis thus has two aims, namely to find "evidence" of the values of Englishness at work in the issues of the day, and to interpret the architectural representations and restructuring arising from these as part of the culture-as-politics motives of the coloniser (as defined through postcolonial theory).

But what were the ideological values of the English at the Cape at the time? Or rather, what defined Englishness? Obviously, the following eight chapters will find "evidence" of these characteristics, but I would like to briefly introduce, in the broadest terms, the cultural context that dominated much of the discourse at the Cape. For the middle class, Western civilisation was the apotheosis of human achievement, and England, its Empire and its middle class was the natural conclusion to this Hegelian sense of history that had begun with the Greeks. In short, the middle class believed in the supremacy of the cultural artefacts and ideas of Western civilisation and became the promoters and warders of these at an almost religious level. Indeed, John Ruskin's conflation of art and religion in his writing perhaps reflected the loss of Christianity's omnipotence. For William Morris art, or Culture with a capital "C," *was* the new missionary work to be undertaken; whilst class "upliftment" did have a concern with material conditions it was also largely driven by the naïve belief that if the working classes could just see the beauty in art, the troubles of the world would disappear. Or, as a corollary, if material ugliness could be removed from the world a "fuller" life – the only life worth living – would be had. Of course Morris can be noted for his anarchist and socialist leanings, but the Romantic undercurrent in his ideas also located this "fuller" life as only plausibly flourishing in a rural ideal. Even town planning, a practice so seemingly technicist and modernist to us today, had its partial roots in visions of an aesthetic and bucolic Medieval past as promoted by Raymond Unwin and the Garden City Movement.

Routledge, 1994). For a summary see, Young, R., *White Mythologies. Writing History and the West*, (London: Routledge, 1990).

[8] Act 4, 2000 (Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act).

Englishness was thus a peculiar mix that valued the "high" art of Western civilisation, and the Romantic imagery of picturesque English villages. This then, is the White supremacy that I would like to suggest was the context of the Cape; not just the theories of racial superiority given via blood, but a belief in Englishness (having as it did the Culture of Western civilisation as its dominant legitimising force) as the only "proper" way to be in the world.

The Existing Field

Although this thesis is largely restricted to Cape Town, it covers a large range of subjects the combination of which is only present in two works, the first a survey of the social history of Cape Town[9] and the second a collection of diverse theoretical texts and essays.[10] Indeed, no one has produced any major work attempting to link the normally separated spheres of the "high art" of a preservation and revival movement and the more socially oriented concerns of town planning, and slum removal and re-housing, let alone consider these events as being part of the culture-as-politics of colonialism and Empire. Anthony King's 'Exporting Planning: The Colonial and Neo-Colonial Experience,' is a key text that hints at these necessary relationships but is a description of colonial situations in the most general terms.[11] In many ways this thesis is parallels King's extensive analysis of colonial urban development through the case study of New Delhi.[12] There are, however, a few differences. Where King is primarily concerned with physical space and its structuring of power, I include textual and graphic representations as valid aspects of the production of identity, and thence power relations. Furthermore, whereas King considers the plethora of physical spaces resulting from such colonial planning, I have restricted this study ostensibly to domestic space, largely to meet the word restriction required for this thesis. Another key difference is that much of King's analysis hinges around the pre-existence of a "native" village or urban space to which the new urban settlement had some relationship – it certainly can be argued that the Cape never had such a pre-existent settlement which makes the analysis in this thesis necessarily different.

A fair amount has been written on the slum and rehousing programmes in Cape Town and in South Africa in general. There is, however, a paucity of material written on Cape Dutch preservation and revival movements. Peter Merrington has written a short article that comes close to dealing with the issue of the Self and the Cape Dutch revival and preservation movement. Although his focus is mainly on the pageants at the time of South Africa's Union in 1910 and how these helped in the 'invention of heritage,' he does briefly refer to the roles that Dorothea Fairbridge and Alys Trotter (occasional subjects in my thesis) played in establishing Cape Dutch homesteads as part of a new English/Afrikaner identity that helped constitute the Self. Merrington shows a limited interest in the *processes*, in other

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[9] Bickford-Smith, V., Van Heyningen, E., and Worden, N., *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century. An Illustrated Social History*, (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers (Pty) Ltd., 1999).
[10] Judin, H. and Vladislavic, I., *Blank - Architecture, Apartheid and After*, (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 1998).
[11] King, A., 'Exporting Planning: the Colonial and Neo-Colonial Experience,' in Cherry, G. (eds), *Shaping an Urban World* (London: Mansell, 1980)
[12] King, A., *Colonial Urban Development. Culture, Social Power and Environment*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976)

words, the forms of representations and the restructuring, used in this development of a new national heritage through the Cape Dutch revival, although he does point out that 'the homesteads carried a dual symbolism, of Cape Dutch history and English landed nobility, and this dual symbolism was promoted for the purpose of reconciliation in the aftermath of the SA War'.[13] Exactly how this was 'promoted' becomes one of the concerns of this thesis. Hopefully, then, this thesis will extend some of the ideas contained in that article whilst offering new interpretations based on more architectural considerations than Merrington's mainly literary interests allow.

Even outside of the question of identity and postcolonial theory, there is almost a complete a scarcity of research into the Cape Dutch preservation and revival movement, although it is somewhat obliquely referred to in the doctoral thesis of Johnson on Herbert Baker.[14] Melinda Silverman's *'Ons bou vir die Bank: Nationalism, Architecture and Volkskas Bank*,'[15] is the only work that considers the direct role the Cape Dutch revival had in the construction of identity, but hers' refers to the later development of an *Afrikaner* nationalist identity around Cape Dutch architecture.

Aside from two uncritical narrative histories,[16] most of the research on town planning, slums and rehousing programmes in Cape Town has been aimed at finding evidence of the beginnings of the Apartheid city and its modernist segregation in the pre-Apartheid era.[17] Those focussing on the political economy suggest that this segregation was motivated by capitalists' self-interest in reproducing a racially defined working class.[18] Apart from Susan Parnell's Ph.D. thesis on Johannesburg's slums,[19] most of these academic texts begin and end their spatial considerations with the segregation of Natives into locations. In other words, they tend to take race as a given factor that "racist" administrators simply promoted through segregation, instead of considering how ideas and representations of domestic space itself may have contributed to the development of race and class identities and thence led to segregation. Naomi Barnett's master's thesis on the slums of Cape Town is of interest as she suggests that 'contrary to previous research, the Slums Act was concerned only with

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[13] Merrington, P., 'Heritage, Pageantry and Archivism: Creed Systems and Tropes of Public History in Imperial South Africa, Circa 1910' in *Kronos*, v.n.25, (98).

[14] Johnson, B., 'Domestic Architecture at the Cape, 1892-1912: Herbert Baker, His Associates and His Contemporaries,' (University of South Africa: Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1988).

[15] Silverman, M., '"Ons bou vir die Bank:" Nationalism, Architecture and Volkskas Bank,' in Judin, H. and Vladislavic, I. (eds), *Blank - Architecture, Apartheid and After* (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 1998) .

[16] Cuthbertson, G. C., 'A New Town at Uitvlugt,' (University of Cape Town: Unpublished B.A. Honours Dissertation, 1980); Joyce, J., 'Cape Town and the Origin of the Slums Act of 1934,' (University of Cape Town: Unpublished B.A. Honours, 1981).

[17] Elias, C., 'A Comparative Analysis of Government Housing Policy and Cape Town City Council Housing Policy, 1890-1935,' (University of Stellenbosch: Unpublished Masters Thesis, 1980); Le Grange, L., 'Working Class Housing, Cape Town 1890-1947. Segregation and Township Formation' in *Africa Seminar: Collected Papers*, v.5, n.(85); Saunders, C., 'The Creation of Ndabeni: Urban segregation and African resistance in Cape Town' in *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, v.1, n.(84); Barnett, N., 'Ndabeni, 1901-1910,' (University of Cape Town: Unpublished B.A. Honours Thesis, 1985); Musemwa, M., 'Aspects of the Social and Political History of Langa Township,' (University of Cape Town: Upublished M.A. thesis, 1993).

[18] Baines, G., 'New Brighton, Port Elizabeth c1903-1953. A History of an Urban African Community,' (University of Cape Town: Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1994); Pigott, M., 'Housing for black workers in South Africa: A study of State intervention after 1945,' (SOAS, University of London: Unpublished Ph.D., 1985); Parnell, S., *The ideology of African Home-ownership: The Establishment of Dube, Soweto, 1946-1955*, (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1990); Torr, L., '"Providing for the Better Class of Native." The Creation of Lamontville, 1923-1933' in *South African Geographical Journal*, v.69, n.1, (87).

[19] Parnell, S., 'Johannesburg Slums and Racial Segregation in South African Cities, 1910-1937,' (University of the Witwatersrand: unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1993).

slum elimination, and was not designed to ensure alternative accommodation for evicted slum dwellers. Instead, it was used to fashion a proposed new town plan for Cape Town'.[20] In other words, she acknowledges the important role that a problematised physical environment played in the restructuring of the city, although her reading of this is that it was part of the modernist agenda to make the city more efficient whilst releasing Council land to be sold at profit. In short, her analysis does not locate the slum clearance discourse within the context of the Garden City Movement and the cultural values driving it.

There has been no major work undertaken on the role that the values of the English architects at the Cape and English architectural ideas may have played in the representation and restructuring of identity and architecture in Cape Town, although Bickford-Smith's *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice* draws attention to this in passing.[21] Elizabeth Van Heyningen's doctorate[22] does, however, present some parallels to this thesis in her re-appraisal of Maynard Swanson's idea of the 'sanitation syndrome.'[23] She takes, as part of her analysis, the values and ideas the medical profession at the Cape had in regard to disease and health, and illustrates how these legitimised racial segregation and White domination. One has to look to other South African cities to find studies that have a more architectural or spatial point of departure in this regard. An example of this is Jennifer Robinson's study of Port Elizabeth, in which she gives a paragraph to the role aesthetic sensibilities played in the definition of racial identity.[24] Her book also touches on the way the Other was begun to be restructured as Same, or rather, how the spatiality of the housing schemes was intended to control Natives and produce "them" as model citizens, especially through the activities of making and tending good gardens and homes.[25] The idea of the use of Europeans as teachers of "the proper way to live" is taken up again in her a later article on the work of Octavia Hill Women in South Africa.[26] A short article by Judith Taylor entitled 'Building Railways and "Building Character:" The Model Villages in Northern Natal, c.1935-1939,' is another work outside the locality of Cape Town that touches on similar ideas developed in this thesis, although her focus is more on the rules and regulations involved rather than a concern with the importance that the typology of "the cottage" may have been given in building this 'character'.[27] Even further a field is Swenarton's study of post-WWI housing in the UK.[28]

The work that perhaps comes closest to investigating how black people were constructed as Other through representations of "their" domestic space is Gary Minkley's

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[20] Barnett, N., 'Race, Housing and Town Planning in Cape Town, c1920-1940,' (University of Cape Town: Unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1993), p.vi.
[21] Bickford-Smith, V., *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Cape Town*, p.102.
[22] Van Heyningen, E., 'Public Health and Society in Cape Town 1880-1910,' (University of Cape Town: Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1989).
[23] Swanson, M., 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909' in *Journal of African History*, v.18, n.3, (77).
[24] Robinson, J., *The Power of Apartheid. State, Power and Space in South African Cities*, (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann Ltd., 1996), p.136.
[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.
[26] Robinson, J., 'Octavia Hill Women Housing Managers in South Africa: Femininity and Urban Government' in *Journal of Historical Geography*, v.24, n.4, (98).
[27] Taylor, J., 'Building Railways and "Building Character:" The Model Villages in Northern Natal, c.1935-1939' in *Contree*, v.34, n.
[28] Swenarton, M, *Homes Fit For Heroes*, (London: Heinemann, 1981)

essay '"Corpses Behind Screens": Native Space in the City.'[29] This short text has been very helpful as a means of comparing what was happening in East London during the same period with what was being undertaken in Cape Town. Part of his analysis shows how the domestic space of those at the periphery of Cape Town was presented as Other in 1942 by those in power, largely through an *architectural* understanding of what a "home" should be. Minkley suggests that '[b]y developing new townships and new forms of housing [the administrators] hoped to redefine urban native space and produce new citizens, new families and new communities that were stable, urban and responsible.' As he says: 'The deep grammars that structured the township as a space of Whiteness [remain] largely unremarked.' Hopefully this thesis, with its focus on the cultural values of the English at the Cape, will go some of the way in addressing the lack identified by Minkley in understanding why the spaces of the location – and other housing schemes – were so deeply structured with "Whiteness."

Areas of Focus, Methodology, Archival Sources

The title of this thesis, 'The Production of the City as a White Space,' is the major interpretation that is made in the Conclusion of this thesis. It is therefore more appropriate to give a brief analysis of the secondary title, 'Representing and Restructuring Identity and Architecture, Cape Town, 1892-1936,' as a way of introducing how the issues of the Cape Dutch revival and preservation movement, and the planning, slum clearance and housing schemes of Cape Town have been approached. The word 'representing' suggests that a variety of representations of Cape Town's architecture and spaces, whether written or drawn, were used to ascribe the identity of both "Self" and "Other." For example, the written and drawn descriptions of the slums of Cape Town can be considered as not only the representing of the identity of the Others inhabiting that space, but also the identity of the English whose values were ascribing that Otherness. The second word 'restructuring,' also suggests a double reading. Firstly, it can be understood that there were occasions when the *identity* of the Self or Other was purposefully restructured. It must, however, be understood that this happened both through the representation of the spaces of Cape Town, *and* through the restructuring of the *architecture* of Cape Town. In other words, when a two-roomed house is published as a model it carries with it a certain representation of identity, and when it is built it then very plausibly has the effect, whether intentional or unintentional, of restructuring its inhabitants' identity. This 'restructuring' does not, however, simply entail built projects, but also includes the "invisible" forces of building regulations and legislation that set up a series of inclusions and exclusions that impact on the space of the city in no small way.

As has been mentioned, the issues that this thesis considers are all more or less contained within the pages of the *Architect, Builder & Engineer*. This has not, however, been the sole source of investigation. There were many agents and agencies involved in the motivation of politics-as-culture and culture-as-politics, including architects, historians,

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[29] Minkley, G., '"Corpses behind screens:" Native Space in the City,' in Judin, H. and Vladislavic, I. (eds), *Blank - Architecture, Apartheid and After* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 1998) .

journalists, city officials and councillors, government officials and government departments. I have decided to give these various individuals and institutions the collective description as "stewards of the city," even though their "stewardship" often extended far beyond the interests and borders of the city. These stewards of the city went about representing and restructuring the spaces of Cape Town in many different ways and through many different media and techniques. Although these media and techniques have not directly structured the chapters of this thesis (the 'how' of the beginning question), it is important to define them as they have been a methodological consideration.

The following categories of representations have been investigated, namely, verbal and written discourse, pictorial images, space as image, and spectacles (bodies and material objects). The first category of "discourse" is fairly self-evident and involves research into books, magazines, newspapers, letters, reports, minutes of meetings, and other official documents. The second category of "pictorial images" involves an investigation into what pictorial images were used, how they were framed or whether they were accompanied by explanatory texts, and where they were used or were presented. The third category of "space as image" considers how orthographic drawings of architects and others presented an idealised or desired domestic space. Consideration of "space as image" also operates as a critical investigation into the abstract or reductive processes involved in mapping existing space. The final category of "spectacles" considers the use of bodies and material objects coming together during significant and publicly recognised events, in other words, where buildings as objects were used and manipulated through visits by officials, or through their display in public space. It is thus words, artefacts, images, space and events that make up the archive that is to be investigated.

As will be seen, this study is not restricted to the city of Cape Town but ranges as far a field as Pretoria and even London. I have restricted the title of this thesis to the city's name, as it was from this centre that much of the representing and restructuring flowed, even if its objects were occasionally elsewhere. Yet there are several other geographically specific areas that this thesis focuses on. For one, there is the district of Stellenbosch and Somerset West, in which much of the Cape Dutch revival and preservation took place. As a corollary to this, the area of Old Cape Town, known as District Six, and in particular, Wells Square, formed the focus of the slum and rehousing programmes that are partially investigated here. Other site-specific areas include Maitland Garden Village, the Roeland Street housing scheme, Ndabeni, Langa and Pinelands (Figure 0.1).

There are two questions that may be asked as to possible missing components in this study. Firstly, it would seem that the area known as the Bo-Kaap and its "Malay Quarter" would necessarily be included in a study of identity and the built environment. One of the points that I make is that it was the heterogeneous character of places such as Wells Square in District Six that made them so problematic; the "Malay Quarter" did not present a major issue to the stewards of the city because it was more fixed and bounded, both in ethnic grouping and physical space. I have, therefore chosen to exclude it as an explicit area of focus, although it is occasionally referred to in this thesis. Secondly, the institution of "the

Home," and its day-to-day living, would seem to be an important component in the formation of middle class identity – yet is not studied in this thesis. The reason for this exclusion is a fairly simple one, namely, that the middle-class English home was taken to be *the* standard of living such that it was never identified as an issue needing to be pushed, except in relation to those who did not live in that way. This is borne out in its absence as an issue in the pages of the *Architect, Builder & Engineer.*

It should be noted that the focus of this thesis is during the period after the Union of South Africa in 1910. It has, however, been necessary to consider the period from 1892 onwards as there were at least two important events that occurred during this time that had a direct impact on what followed. Firstly, Herbert Baker was commissioned by Cecil Rhodes in 1892 to design his new house of Groote Schuur, specifically on Cape Dutch lines. 1892 then, signals the beginnings of the Cape Dutch revival and preservation movement. The second important event was the establishment of Ndabeni, Cape Town's first general Native location (segregated residential area), in 1901. This racially segregated neighbourhood, or rather, quasi-internment centre, managed to temporarily remove Natives from the physical and social space of Cape Town. Their increasingly visible presence towards the end of WWI. eventually led to another intervention and restructuring of the Other-spaces they inhabited. It is this period that dominates much of this thesis.

If the starting date of 1892 is in deference to the canon of "high" architecture, then the concluding date of 1936 follows a similar suit. This was the year in which the Cape Dutch homestead of Groot Constantia was declared South Africa's first national monument. With the casting of its plaque (in brass rather than stone), came the signification of Cape Dutch architecture dominating the national monument concerns of White South Africa for the next 60 years.[30] This was also roughly the time in which the Romantic interests of Englishness in the housing of Others became subsumed within the increasingly dominant justifications of modernism. Yet to consider this date as an ending would be incorrect. Any reader familiar with present-day South Africa will recognise many of the processes and practices this thesis examines, continuing today.

Introduction and Overview of Part One

Cape Dutch architecture refers to the buildings from a period in South Africa's history, roughly covering the years between the 1650s up to the 1810s, and loosely describes the period when the Dutch were the main administrative force at the Cape. At the most general architectural level, most of what was built during this period shared the visual characteristic of whitewashed or coloured stucco walls. Cape Dutch homesteads can be considered as a distinctive typology and rural subset of Cape Dutch architecture in general and are normally characterised through the features of the main house, namely, a central entrance gable set

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[30] I counted approximately thirty-six Cape Dutch style buildings and their associated elements such as dovecotes as having been declared national monuments in the Western Cape by 1970, this being approximately a tenth of all the national monuments declared in South Africa by that time. See Oberholster, J. J., *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, (Cape Town: The Rembrandt van Rijn Foundation for Culture, 1972). The new Act 11 of 1999 (National Heritage Council Act) has changed the focus away from buildings.

symmetrically within a single-storey thatched-roof stuccoed front façade (Figure 1.3). On the whole, there is a tendency for Cape Dutch homesteads to represent the whole of Cape Dutch architecture, although it is important to maintain the distinction between the two.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Cape Dutch architecture in general and Cape Dutch homesteads in particular were falling into a state of disrepair.[31] In fact, the style, its materials, and methods of construction had been out of favour at the Cape for quite some time, the trend having changed to the redbrick and hipped tiled roofs of the Victorian era.[32] By the 1920s however, this had all changed again. The Cape had been gripped at the turn of the century by a set of factors that had come together to produce a Cape Dutch revival style, a preservation movement focused on Cape Dutch architecture and homesteads, and the immense proliferation of both visual and written representations of Cape Dutch homesteads.

Although the Cape Dutch revival was not widespread, it had been taken up by some of the most important politicians and participants in the Cape's, and the country's, development and politics. These stewards of the city also played a major part in the preservation movement and had a fair hand in the proliferation of Cape Dutch representations. This turnaround in the "fortunes" of Cape Dutch architecture begs the question as to why this occurred. Undoubtedly the English Arts & Crafts movement and its valuing of vernacular architecture, led Cape architects, keen on the latest trends in England, to recognise aspects in Cape Dutch homesteads that exemplified the Arts & Crafts methods and interests. Another architectural explanation would be that the Georgian Revival in Edwardian England valued broad, flat, stuccoed surfaces, symmetrical facades, and budget-friendly limited ornament, all defining features of Cape Dutch homesteads as already mentioned. Both of these movements played their part in proliferating the new Cape Dutch phenomenon in the Cape's cultural landscape.

Yet this thesis will show that the driving force in the Cape Dutch turnaround was thoroughly ideological, if not simply political. These ideological factors are complex and interwoven, but have been identified into three main themes that in turn have structured the first three chapters.

Chapter One looks at the role that a desired English/Afrikaner national identity played in re-instituting Cape Dutch architecture at the Cape, especially through the preservation movement. It also looks at the role Cape Dutch architecture played in the development and definition of that combined English/Afrikaner Nationalism, particularly in the attempts to define Cape Dutch architecture as a national style.

Chapter Two investigates how, as a complement to the development of a national identity, Cape Dutch architecture and the settler history with which it was associated, became the focus around which a White, and European, identity could be formed in contradistinction to a Black, and African, identity. The importance that Cape Dutch homesteads held as representations of high European culture and civilisation is pointed to in

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[31] Baker, H., *Cecil Rhodes. By his Architect*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p.64.
[32] Radford, D., 'The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901,' (University of the Witwatersrand: Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1979).

the discourse of the day. This same discourse analysis also shows how the activities or presence of Others, such as slaves or Africans were purposefully either excluded from the narrative, or trivialised to the point of mockery.

Chapter Three considers the representation of Cape Dutch homesteads as country houses. The Cape's elite and main actors sought to possess these homesteads for two reasons: firstly, to establish themselves, at the Cape, along the lines of the English landed gentry, and secondly, to legitimise their possession of the land of the Cape within the project of Empire.

Introduction and Overview of Part Two

In as much as the English at the Cape started to revere the countryside and its built artefacts at the turn of the century, they began to approach the city itself with a fair amount of disdain. Bickford-Smith *et al*, have suggested that as early as 1830, wealthy English merchants had begun giving up urban living in town houses for villas in the suburbs – a trend similar to that in England – whilst the middle class followed towards the end of the nineteenth century.[33] The older Dutch-descendent families remained in the commercial heart of the city or continued to occupy the immediate suburbs on the slopes of Table Mountain. Those that remained in what was called Old Cape Town, were the freed-slave and Muslim communities located predominantly in District Two (the area known as the Bo-Kaap), the recently urbanised black labour force and urban poor located predominantly in District One (near the original harbour), and the recently immigrant and working class in District Six (the residential area developed largely in the nineteenth century through *laissez-faire* mechanisms) (Figure 0.1).

The reasons for the increasing disdain shown toward the city by the English in the Cape are complicated. Bickford-Smith suggests that party-politics played a role – the suburban English focusing political campaigns against the Dutch-descendent and coloured urban residents.[34] Clearly though, this anti-urbanism was part of a greater phenomenon occurring in England at the time. Whilst Cape Town never had experienced the kind of industrialisation of English cities such as Manchester, the rapid increase in English immigrants ensured that the anti-urban ideas that industrialised England had produced, such as those found in the Arts & Crafts and Garden City Movements, were disseminated and wholeheartedly adopted. Both the Arts & Crafts and Garden City Movements were motivated by aesthetic as well as social considerations. With the arrival of English architects and English architectural ideas at the Cape, it was clear that Cape Town did not meet the aesthetic and social ideal of what the city should be. As late as the 1870s, Old Cape Town had the appearance of a colonial Dutch city with its *stoeps* (high-level entrance verandas) and fairly homogenous, non-descript, low-scale, whitewashed buildings (Figure 4.1), whilst District Six had a dense and chaotic image, filled with corrugated iron (Figures 4.2 and 5.2).

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[33] Bickford-Smith, V., Worden, N., and Van Heyningen, E., *Cape Town. The Making of a City*, (Claremont: David Philip Publishers (Pty) Ltd., 1998), p.200.
[34] Bickford-Smith, V., *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Cape Town*, pp.39-66.

Cape Town, quite simply, didn't *look* right. On top of this, Cape Town was undergoing rapid urbanisation; the rural White poor, overseas immigrants and the rural black labour force, all met and cohabited in Old Cape Town, in dwellings becoming overcrowded and devolving into "slums." It was this heterogeneous and fluid social space, particularly of District Six, that met with much disapproval from those who imagined a world of picturesque cottages and tea-totalling happy middle-class families. The English at the Cape started to assert their identity through the discourse emerging against these conditions, whilst simultaneously discrediting those whose dwellings and lived space did not meet their ideal, and in the process subtly legitimising the dispossession and removal of these Others from parts of Old Cape Town. This discourse on the city, and its representations of Otherness, forms the basis of the investigation for Chapters Four and Five.

Chapter Four considers the role the aesthetics of the visual played in the negative sentiments developed against those who occupied spaces that appeared ugly or generally Other, as well as the role the aesthetics of the visual played in the emerging town planning agenda aimed at restructuring the space of the city.

Chapter Five focuses on the discourse that emerged in the first part of the twentieth century on the social space of Old Cape Town, particularly those considering the "slums" of District Six. Two issues are dealt with. Firstly, dwellings that were described negatively reinforced the ascription of Otherness already defined through other visual differences such as skin colour and dress. Secondly, an attempt has been made to identify the particular conditions of the social spaces of Old Cape Town that were considered to be problematic and threatening. This confirms that the values of Englishness were driving the discourse, whilst also illustrating that the domestic space of Others needed to be restructured in order to make it acceptable.

Introduction and Overview of Part Three

The third part of this thesis is in some ways a continuation of the second part. It essentially records the ways in which the stewards of the city set about representing and restructuring the space of the Other into the space of the Same. This final part deals both with physical interventions in the space of Cape Town, as well as illustrating how unbuilt abstract models and the regularising forces of building regulations and legislation had an impact on Cape Town's domestic space.

Chapter Six considers the role that "model cottages" and other abstractions had in presenting the English ideal of the detached single-family dwelling as *the* ideal housing model. Consideration is given to the idea of "instrumentality" – that the "proper" home could have a direct and deterministic effect on its inhabitants. This chapter also presents the idea of the importance that displays made in public space had in promoting these models of the Self.

Chapter Seven looks at the ways in which regulations and legislation began to structure the domestic space of Cape Town along class lines.

Chapter Eight deals with some of the interventions taken by the stewards of the city into the domestic space of Cape Town. These include the "improvement scheme" for Wells Square in District Six and the related housing schemes of Maitland Garden Village and Roeland Street, Ndabeni location, and the designs for Langa and Pinelands. Comments are made as to the extent to which the stewards of the city were willing to structure the Other into the Same.

Conclusion and Beginning

In the most abstract sense then, this thesis is a study of how the representation of space becomes part of the space of representation[35] – how Englishness revealed itself to itself through things architectural, whether through built projects or representations of them. What this thesis will hopefully illustrate is how town planning, native dwellings, slums, and housing schemes on the one hand, and the Cape Dutch revival on the other, are inextricably linked as part of the same political process of the restructuring and representation of the city itself.

Yet, in as much as this thesis has issues of power based on identity as its interpretative framework, undertaking a thesis such as this creates some problems of which I am well aware. I carry the occasional identity of being a White South African male. Simply adding to the discourse on Other-spaces, locations and housing schemes, and the Cape Dutch homesteads can be seen as continuing the hegemony of White-male constructed discourse in South Africa, whilst using words such as "Native" or "Other" can be seen to reinforce those very identity-constructs that this thesis critiques. The concern may be ameliorated by the fact that this thesis takes White discourse construction partially as its subject matter. Ultimately, my only defence – if it is necessary – is that there are many histories, of which this is but one. As Keith Jenkins points out, history is constantly being rewritten and it is in that sense that this thesis comes no closer to the "truth" on the matter.[36] Like most histories, this is a history of the present.[37] Its theoretical concerns are ideas that have come to light in the past 20 years and are currently being explored in academic writing. Aside from this concern with the vagaries of cultural theory, the fact remains that the issues that this thesis deals with remain part of the landscape of Cape Town today. The battle for the control of the city – for the right to legitimise its history, its image, its form and its space – continues to play itself out in the production of its "hovels," cottages and country houses and their representation of legitimate and illegitimate ways of being.

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[35] Lefebvre, H., *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).
[36] Jenkins, K., *Re-thinking History*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 16-8.
[37] *Ibid.*, p.12.

Part One:

The Historicized Countryside and the Valorised Self

1. A Common Heritage / An Appropriated History:
Cape Dutch Preservation and Revival Movements and the Restructuring and Representation of a Common English/Afrikaner Identity

Introduction

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Cape Dutch architecture and Cape Dutch homesteads in particular (Figures 1.2 and 1.3) – with their distinctive gables and whitewashed symmetrical facades – had reached a state of decay, alteration and destruction[1] that signified their loss of cultural capital in the face of Victorian aesthetics, building styles and values.[2] Yet, by 1910 they had started to form the focus of a concerted building preservation program and many were being documented and mapped out through drawings and photographs. Furthermore, a few highly significant official and government buildings were simultaneously starting to be built in a Cape Dutch revival style. What led to this dramatic turnaround in the "fortunes" of Cape Dutch architecture? In many ways the building preservation movement was simply a mirroring in Cape Town of similar concerns in England as exemplified through the formation of the National Trust,[3] whilst the search for a national style was a common pursuit throughout Europe at the time.[4] Yet South Africa has a distinct history that gives the building preservation movement and issues regarding a national architectural style a fairly unique edge. Before an investigation can be made into the emergence in Cape Town of the building preservation movement and Cape Dutch as a national style, it is important to give some of the background to South Africa's political situation at the time.

Background

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, South Africa was a collection of disparate political and geographical entities comprising in part, the two British colonies of the Cape and Natal, the two separate Boer Republics of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic (Transvaal), and the ill-defined territories of British Bechuanaland, the Transkei, and Zululand, which operated under diverse forms of 'native law.' Politically astute imperialists, exemplified in the character of Cecil Rhodes, saw immense potential in the unification of these areas under British administration: the mineral wealth (the diamond rush in the 1870s and gold in 1886), natural resources and a large pool of unskilled black labour could be combined to produce great personal wealth and increase the region's caché in the workings of the British Empire. That the tribal protectorates were effectively conquered British territories suggested that the two Boer Republics, as missing parts of the equation, would have to be conquered or coerced into unification – or both, as it turned out. The

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[1] Baker, H., *Cecil Rhodes*, p.64.
[2] Radford, D., 'The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901'
[3] Hill, W. T., *Octavia Hill. Pioneer of the National Trust and Housing Reformer*, (London: Hutchinson, 1956), p.145-150.

unification of the territorially distinct Boer Republics with the two British colonies of the Cape and Natal to produce the Union of South Africa in 1910 was a legal technicality that brought the mineral wealth of the Boer Republics within easier administration of the British. That this occurred less than ten years after the South African War, where thousands of men, women and children were interned and died in concentration camps,[5] points to the realisation by those men in power that a national identity that healed or overcame the differences between the Dutch Boers, or Afrikaners as they were becoming known, and the English was something that needed to be fought for and manufactured. Thus, one of the biggest events that shaped the future of South Africa and, indeed, ultimately led to the establishment of Apartheid, was the emergence of a common English/Afrikaner identity distinctly in opposition to the "non-Whites" who dominated South Africa in numbers and yet who lacked the wealth and power to usurp the colonial power structures.

To use the neutral word 'emerged' does not adequately capture the processes involved in the intentional structuring of this common English/Afrikaner identity by many figures, among them Cecil Rhodes. He recognised, even before the South African War, that the consolidation of power and wealth in South Africa was contingent on the end of antagonism between the English and Afrikaners, an antagonism supposedly beginning in the early 1800s at the Cape and leading to the Great Trek and the diaspora of Dutch speakers into the hinterland of South Africa. It was these latter people, with the help of Cape intellectuals,[6] who eventually started to constitute their identity as Afrikaners. The necessity of overcoming the antagonism was understood by General Botha who, after having fought against the British in the South African War not more than ten years before, is purported to have asked the following rhetorical question at the Bloemfontein Congress of the South African Party in 1911: 'What is our main object? The co-operation of both the European races, in order along that path to form a South African Nation."[7] Whilst General Hertzog stated: 'This is the beginning, the practical beginning of the existence of a South African nationality and national life',[8] even though he later went on to establish the Afrikaner and republican oriented National Party.[9]

Two issues need to be clarified. Firstly, it should be noted that, on the whole, the English and Cape politicians were firm believers that this nationalism was a necessary component of the strengthening of the British Empire; it was only once a common identity had been achieved that South Africa's unproblematic contribution to the Empire could proceed. Secondly, South Africa was not unique, at this point in history, in its emergent nationalist rhetoric; the rise of nationalist agendas throughout the world was endemic to the

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[4] See, for example, Makela, T., 'Imagined Affinities,' (University of Princeton: Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1991) and Dixon, R., *Victorian Architecture*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978) for a general overview.
[5] Coetzer, O., *Fire in the Sky. The Destruction of the Orange Free State, 1899-1902*, (South Africa: Covos-Day Books, 2000)
[6] Davenport, T. R. H., *South Africa: A Modern History*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p.156.
[7] [CAbox]A.583, v.63: F.S. Malan, Newspaper clippings, J.C. Smuts, 'Speech delivered at the Special Congress of the South African Party held at Bloemfontein on Wednesday, October 27th, 1920.'
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] Davenport, T. R. H., *South Africa: A Modern History*, p.175.

period.[10] Yet, unlike other "nations," English and Afrikaans South Africans arguably had little in common, except, and this was the crux of the matter, their European culture, made more poignant by being in Africa.

Cape Dutch architecture, or rather, Cape Dutch homesteads were icons of this "common" European culture. Yet, they were not ready-made and unproblematic symbols English/Afrikaner identity. In fact, the English had only developed a presence at the Cape at the beginning of the nineteenth century, just as the production of Cape Dutch homesteads was on the wane. They had had little to do with the production of Cape Dutch architecture at all. And yet the same could have been argued with regard to the Afrikaners who, although largely the descendents of the original Dutch and other non-English settlers at the Cape, had developed a distinctly non-Dutch identity forged at the frontier of the Great Trek and its resulting tribulations. The 150-odd years of Dutch administration *prior* to the occupation of the Cape by the British formed the perfect material for the representation of a history that saw this period as primarily *European*, and hence open to mutual claim by the British and the Afrikaner alike. The work needing to be done, and indeed, partly the subject matter of this Chapter, was to represent Cape Dutch architecture and Cape Dutch homesteads in particular as part of a common heritage. In fact, the symbolic representation of the new nation was to be partly formed through the mutual custodianship of a set of buildings that neither English, nor Afrikaner, had had a hand in making – like a squabbling couple overcoming differences on finding an abandoned baby on their doorstep. And, like a child, Cape Dutch architecture represented the potential of a "glorious" future through its representing a "glorious" past.

As we will see, the (predominantly) English motivators of the building preservation movement and the promoters of Cape Dutch as a national style can be interpreted as having motives for this other than the structuring and representation of a common English/Afrikaner identity. In effect, the English and the imperialists also claimed the Cape's past as their own and thereby added veracity and longevity to the project of Empire in Africa. In this sense it was not quite a common heritage, but rather an appropriated history. Yet, as already noted, the aim of developing a common English/Afrikaner identity through the idea of a common heritage was itself supportive of the strengthening of South Africa's role in the British Empire – whether it was in effect a common heritage or an appropriated history that was being promoted, the result was intended to be the same. As a further complication and as explored in Chapter Three, the English literally began to possess the original settler houses at the Cape and, as members of the upper-middle class, were able to recreate themselves as landed gentry through their ownership of the dwellings which they represented as "country estates." This chapter, however, explores how the emerging building preservation movement and its focus on Cape Dutch architecture, as well as the promotion of Cape Dutch architecture as a South African national style, formed part of the explicit and implicit structuring of a common English/Afrikaner identity.

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[10] See, for example, Eddy, J. and Schreuder, D, *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism. Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa first assert their Nationalities, 1880-1914.*, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1988)

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1.1 Groote Schuur, designed by Herbert Baker for Cecil Rhodes. Source: Le Roux, W.J., *Groote Schuur.*

Cecil Rhodes, Herbert Baker and Groote Schuur

Cecil Rhodes can generally be credited as the first person to realise the potential that Cape Dutch architecture in general, and Cape Dutch homesteads in particular, held for the creation of a common English/Afrikaner identity. When Rhodes looked for a new residence in the early 1890s whilst Premier of the Cape, he chose the site of the former Dutch East India Company's barn in Rondebosch which had been established by the Cape's first Dutch Governor, Jan van Riebeeck. Not only did he change the somewhat Anglo name of the house existing on the site from The Grange to Groote Schuur (a name reflecting its origin as a Dutch built barn), but he also chose to have the residence altered in 1892 in the Cape Dutch style, a style arguably forged by the ancestors of the Afrikaners. Not quite a replica of a Cape Dutch homestead, the alterations by Herbert Baker relied on florid gables, shuttered windows and whitewashed stucco, to achieve the association. Notwithstanding the trend of the Queen Anne revival,[11] these moves can be very easily taken as a conscious attempt to begin the process of this identity restructuring especially when it is considered that Rhodes was making political overtures to the Afrikaner Bond at the time. Baker, as his architect on the project, seems to confirm this in his book on their relationship published in 1934:

> But he would, I believe, not have been displeased in thinking that when, on the formation of the Union of South Africa, it became the home of the Prime Minister of

[11] Atwell, M. and Berman, A., 'Arts and Crafts and Baker's Cape Style' in *Architecture SA*, v.(92).

Image removed due to third party copyright

the Union, it would be three Dutch South Africans who first dwelt there. Surely Groote Schuur and the aura of its *genus loci* can have no small influence in the consummation of Rhodes' ideals for the future of South Africa?[12]

The *Rand Daily Mail*, around the same time, expressed a similar sentiment through its acclamation of Groote Schuur as an architectural marvel:

He restored the far more picturesque name of Groote Schuur, he rebuilt and remodelled the mansion, and in its architecture and decorations made it typical of the Union of English and Dutch. Then he filled it with the treasures of South Africa.[13]

1.2 Koopmans-de-Wet House, Cape Town – urban Cape Dutch Architecture. Source: Fairbridge, *Historic Houses of South Africa.*

Image removed due to third party copyright

Baker's belief in Cape Dutch architecture as a political instrument in structuring a common English/Afrikaner identity is doubtful, even if he was initially the main motivator for the development of the Cape Dutch revival. That he was schooled in Arts & Crafts architecture was perhaps the more powerful motive for his belief in the Cape Dutch revival as a worthy event in the Cape. The Cape Dutch buildings' "honesty" of natural materials and simple but elegant rural designs would have suited the sensibilities of an architect keen on exploring the architectural ideas of his time. As we shall see, Baker did join in the chorus of voices promoting the preservation of existing Cape Dutch buildings and the valorising of Cape Dutch as an appropriate national style, but its emphasis does not lie with either Baker or even Rhodes. The active promotion of Cape Dutch architecture as a new national style gained in emphasis following Rhodes's death in 1900 and Baker's move to Johannesburg in 1903 during which he began a slow self-extrication from the style he had helped to promote.

1.3 Morgenster, Somerset West – whitewashed walls, curvilinear gable, shuttered windows, thatch roof - elements typically associated with the phrase 'Cape Dutch.' Source: Fairbridge, *Historic Houses of South Africa.*

The concern to actively advance Cape Dutch buildings as worthy of preservation and Cape Dutch architecture as a national style whilst recognising its potential to represent and structure a common English/Afrikaner identity was generated by political movements explicitly aimed at consolidating the two Republics and Colonies into a Union.

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[12] Baker, H., *Cecil Rhodes*, p.34.
[13] [News]*Rand Daily Mail* 1931.05.30: 'Permanent Home of the Premiers.'

The Closer Union Society: Cape Dutch Architecture as a 'Common Heritage'

Of all the institutions and their members most involved in the promotion of Cape Dutch architecture as the embodiment of a common English/Afrikaner identity, the Closer Union Society (hereafter CUS) was the most active, certainly before and within the first few years of Union in 1910. The CUS was formed in 1908 with W.P. Schreiner as president with the aim of promoting a nation after the union that was imminent because: 'A handful of leaders may fashion a state, but they cannot create a nation.'[14] Although the constitution and work of the South African National Society (hereafter SANS) predated that of the CUS, its initial interest was in the preservation of Cape Dutch homesteads and not necessarily in promoting their image and substance as a symbol of a common English/Afrikaner identity. Certainly, a few years after the inception of the SANS, the rhetoric around the preservation of the Cape Dutch homesteads seemed to undergo a change from one promoting the interests of antiquarians to that of nationalists. It should also not go unnoticed that there were members common to both the CUS and the SANS at the highest level,[15] for example Senator F.S. Malan was one of the vice-presidents of the CUS at its inception and was president of the SANS by 1922.

It was, however, the CUS that holds the somewhat dubious distinction of conflating the Cape Dutch homestead with the emerging common English/Afrikaner identity. F. Masey, a partner in the firm established by Herbert Baker, started an eight-part series of articles titled 'The Beginnings of Our Nation' in the first issue of *The State*, the main propaganda organ of the CUS.[16] Rich in photographs of Cape Dutch architecture (thanks to the work of Arthur Elliott), the series ran across eight articles in the monthly editions from January to October 1909 that saw most of the writing focused on Cape Dutch architecture owned by the Cape's stewards, including Schoongezicht, Koopmans-de-Wet House, and the Drostdy at Tulbagh (Figure 1.4.). Dorothea Fairbridge took over the series in August 1911 with a new series titled 'Old South African Homesteads' which ran twelve articles until December 1912. This formed the basis of her opus *The Historic Houses of South Africa*.[17] Her series was more focused on the particular history of the more picturesque and gabled homesteads such as Morgenster (Figure 1.3) rather than actively promoting them as symbolic and material expressions of a common English/Afrikaner identity. However, as we shall see, this initial concern of Masey's was not something ignored in her articles.

Masey's first article is simply an introduction to Cape Dutch architecture and carries some sentiment regarding the need for preservation of the homesteads which were undergoing serious depletion in their numbers, their integrity and their artefacts which were being removed and sold out of the country. Whilst no explicit overtures were made to represent Cape Dutch architecture in general, and the homesteads, in particular as symbols of a common English/Afrikaner identity, the title of the series expresses this sentiment quite

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[14] [Mag]*The State*, v.1, n.1, (January 1909), p.25.
[15] See Appendix B.
[16] [Mag]*The State*, v.1, n.1, (January, 1909), p.55.
[17] Fairbridge, D., *The Historic Houses of South Africa*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1922)

clearly. It is in fact a book review of Alys Trotter's *Old Cape Colony* that begins to give voice to the nationalist spirit being promoted by *The State*:

> Our readers up-country should make a point of buying Mrs. Trotter's book. For it deals with a national heritage, and though he may never see it the dweller in the North has as good a claim as anyone else to be proud of the handiwork of his forbears in planting forests and building the homesteads of the most beautiful peninsula in the world.[18]

1.4 The Drostdy at Tulbagh as illustrated in [Mag]*The State*, v.2, n.9, (September, 1909).

That the people of the two Republics in the north were invited to possess the homesteads through the physical device of Trotter's book is apparent. But it was with the Drostdy (magistrate's house and office) at the small town of Tulbagh in the Cape that the idea of Cape Dutch homesteads being symbols of a common English/Afrikaner identity began to be more overtly voiced.[19] The second edition of *The State* carried a poem dedicated to the Drostdy penned by F.C. Kolbe, whose great-great-grandfather, it was noted, was the magistrate of Stellenbosch, a town noted for its Cape Dutch buildings. In the poem, the Drostdy, with its 'stately halls and courtly manners' symbolises the European past at the Cape which demands to be emulated in the present – and therein lies the common mission of English and Afrikaner alike:

> Relic and emblem of a storied past.
> Thrice happy they whose lines in thee are cast

[18] [Mag]*The State*, v.1, n.2, (February, 1909), p.225

[19] It may be argued that the Drostdy's Neo-Classical style should separate it from the general Cape Dutch canon which tended more to the Renaissance and Baroque. My use of the phrase "Cape Dutch homestead" is not intended to denote a precisely defined category of style but rather the general idea emerging during the period of study of the existence of a number of typically one-storey rural dwellings that were generally or nearly more than one hundred years old and which had the simple visual characteristics of being painted white, having gables and thatched reed roofs.

> Thy records summon all in thy embrace
> To emulate the virtues of the race.
> Thy stately halls of courtly manners tell,
> Where only Ladies Bountiful should dwell.
> Thy solid frame is pledge of future glory,
> And links our doings with our country's story.
> F.C. Kolbe, 'To the Drostdy at Tulbagh.'[20]

The 'our doings' – perhaps the impending act of Union but certainly the structuring of a common English/Afrikaner identity and a new nation – is the necessary conclusion of the past symbolised by the Drostdy. However, as hinted at by Kolbe's line 'Thy records summon all in thy embrace,' the Drostdy was found by Masey to be more than just a symbol. Masey took pains to point out that the Drostdy was the literal manifestation of the joining of the Dutch and British administration of the Cape: 'Whilst it proved to be the last building begun upon Dutch soil in South Africa, it was destined to be the first completed upon the passing of the Cape into the hands of the British.'[21] There was, so suggested by Masey, at least one Cape Dutch homestead that the British had a hand in making. In the very next edition of *The State* Masey continued to expound the symbolic meaning of the Drostdy as unifier of Afrikaner and English, both in the past and in the present, as exemplified in the following quote:

> To-day particular interest is attached to the old house, for, as has already been pointed out, it perhaps more than any other official building in South Africa represents the link between the past and present which under the Act of Union we are consolidating [...] It is interesting to note that its present owner [Meiring Beck] was a member of the National Convention [for Union], which finally linked up the differences between the new regime and the old regime of which his old house saw so much long ago.[22]

Meiring Beck, through owning the Drostdy and through partaking in the convention that forged the Union of South Africa, is recognised as helping to legally bring together the two "races" that had already been spiritually unified through the Drostdy and its history. It is useful to include a fairly extensive quote taken from an article written by Meiring Beck himself titled 'South Africanism':

> There is scarcely a single point in which you will not find striking similarities in the modes of thought and expression between Dutch-descended and English-descended South Africans [...] The problem for those guiding the destinies of the British Commonwealth is not how to banish for ever the phantom of a South African nation but how, by fostering the national spirit, to drive into grooves sympathetic to common interests rather than into grooves out of harmony with those interests [...] In building up South African character let us cultivate pride in our own history and in the history of our forefathers. Let us accept each other's history as a common heritage.[23]

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[20] [Mag]*The State*, v.2, n.9, (September, 1909), p.304.
[21] *Ibid.*, p.305.
[22] [Mag]*The State*, v.2, n.10, (October, 1909), p.423.
[23] [Mag]*The State*, v.5, n.3, (March, 1911), p.373.

That the Imperialist bent of the CUS recognised the importance of fostering and guiding a common English/Afrikaner identity should be apparent to the reader. That the sentence 'let us accept each other's history as a common heritage' came from a man who owned and lived in one of the material artefacts of that (imagined) common heritage should appear as less than coincidental and should illustrate the extent to which Cape Dutch homesteads began to be represented as material manifestation of this common English/Afrikaner identity. In fact, John X. Merriman, the Prime Minister of the Cape and the main proponent of union over federation,[24] himself owned the Cape Dutch homestead of Schoongezicht.[25]

As mentioned earlier, the writing on Cape Dutch architecture began to show the interests of an aesthete more than a propagandist when Dorothea Fairbridge took over the exposition of Cape Dutch homesteads in *The State*. Yet there is enough in her 12 articles to suggest that she was well aware of the concern for the consolidation of a common English/Afrikaner identity through the material artefacts of the Cape Dutch homesteads. The monthly editions carry Fairbridge's reports of her visits to specific Cape Dutch regions and the discoveries she makes there. This constituted a literal mapping-out of Cape Dutch homesteads as recounted in narrative form. Included in these articles are fairly extensive details of ownership, from the very first settler of each homestead through to the owners of the day, many of who were English. This could certainly be read as an attempt to further cement the 'common heritage' described by Meiring Beck above. Perhaps the recording of these extensive lineages of ownership was more indicative of the potential for English possession of local history. This is an issue further explored in Chapter Three. In fact, Fairbridge did go so far as to suggest that the 'common heritage' was the product of a number of European "races" and that the majority of settlers were not Dutch in origin:

> This fact, if duly appreciated, should give United South Africa a very wide outlook, for if it takes all sorts to make a world it has taken half a dozen European nations to make South Africa - and not two only.[26]

Certainly then, in Fairbridge's reading, the Cape Dutch homestead was open to possession as a new White identity was being forged, and the nascent Afrikaner nationalism could not lay sole claim to it as its architectural representative, Gerard Moerdyk, and others later did.[27]

If there is any doubt as to Fairbridge's initial support for the use of Cape Dutch homesteads and associated history to be used to forge closer ties between English and Afrikaner alike, then certainly by 1922 with the publication of her benchmark book *The Historic Houses of South Africa* the opposite is evident. In what amounts to an extensive and highly illustrated (through photographs, drawings and colour plates) survey of many of the Cape Dutch homesteads, the book included a Foreword written by the then Prime Minister, J. C. Smuts, which included the following statement:

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[24] Davenport, T. R. H., *South Africa: A Modern History*, p.165.
[25] [Mag]*The State*, v.1, n.6, (June, 1909), p.652.
[26] [Mag]*The State*, v.8, n.3, (September, 1912), p.193.
[27] Silverman, M., in Judin, H. and Vladislavic, I., *Blank - Architecture, Apartheid and After*

> The old houses of South Africa are a common heritage of which all South Africans are proud, and are precious links binding us all together in noble traditions and great memories of our past.[28]

That 'all South Africans' referred to all White South Africans is fairly certain, as at the time, the citizenship of "non-Whites" was not a plausible concern. Smuts confirms this by going on in considering the importance of disseminating South African history:

> It is, for the greater part, a record of struggles in the face of difficulties, and those difficulties overcome and shaped to noble uses, even as the dogged spirit in which her two white races more than once met in collision is being fused into an equally determined spirit of patriotism which has a wider outlook than that of race.[29]

The above quote illustrates again the tendency emerging in the discourse around Cape Dutch architecture and homesteads of a conscience attempt to find in Cape Dutch history elements common to both English and Dutch, and thereby allow the subtle appropriation by the English of Dutch history at the Cape. As we will see in the example below, this tendency, to conflate the histories and cultures of Dutch settlers and the English into one narrative, allowed the 170-odd years separating their respective initial settlement at the Cape to be ignored and enabled the English to symbolically appropriate a history that was not theirs.

Conflated Histories: Writing Commonalities between Afrikaner and English

An example of this tendency to conflate English and Dutch histories and cultures is found in the December 1920 edition of the *Architect, Builder & Engineer* (hereafter the *AB&E*). The *AB&E* was the unofficial magazine of the Cape Institute of Architects (hereafter CIA), both entities being heavily involved in the production of discourse around the Cape Dutch homesteads. As part of a series titled 'On the Need for a South African Architecture' which ran from November 1920 to March 1921, the December edition of the *AB&E*, in its valorising of the Cape Dutch homesteads, notes the 'remarkable' similarities in architecture between the English Queen Anne period and the Dutch Renaissance and goes on to mention that 'the streams running at the sides of our typical village streets have become significant of the land and its people and not less so because this disposition of the water-minded earlier settlers of the waterways of Holland or the country streamlets of the English shires.'[30] What the author is identifying is the dual-purpose irrigation and storm-water gutters running between streets and pavements, typical to most Dutch-settled towns such as Stellenbosch. The text locates these dual characteristics as essential racial qualities of the European races involved and states 'we are the stronger socially for this weaving of diverse [European] racial qualities into the fabric of the settlement which has now become a nation in the Union of South Africa'. Commonalities identified through the built environment or landscape, such as those of architectural styles and an ingrained and mutual love for water – 'the fabric of the settlement' – are identified as bonds tying English and Afrikaner into a strong nation. The article exists

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[28] Fairbridge, D., *The Historic Houses of South Africa*, p.x.
[29] *Ibid.*, p.xi.

almost as if to say, "We, the English, could have and would have done this, if you had not done it before us."

In part, the common history or heritage being promoted or read through the Cape Dutch homesteads was aimed at establishing ties to a common European racial origin. The November 1920 edition of the *AB&E*, not coincidentally featuring full-page photographs of the gables of Groot Constantia (Figure 1.15), Morgenster (Figure 1.3), Spier, and Elsenberg homesteads, contains an article titled 'Our Racial Inheritance'.[31] The article takes on board all the racial and genetic/environmental thinking of the day[32] in which the author praises the 'combined resistance by the civilised population of onslaughts by native barbarians' as the single thing that has strengthened the 'European stock' against a debilitating, almost subtropical climate. Although never mentioning the English and the Dutch directly but rather deferring to generalised 'European nationalities,' the article is written to allow the reader to place the English alongside the first settlers in its recounting early colonial history, whilst suggesting both as being 'noble in origin and fusible in character'.[33] This architectural magazine, through processes of conflation and concealed anomalies, suggests to the reader that the English and the Dutch were together at the origin of the settlement of South Africa and produced the architectural heritage signified by the Cape Dutch homestead.

As mentioned before and as explored in Chapter Three, articles such as these could be read as a general effort by the predominantly English authors to appropriate and inveigle the English into a history that was not specifically theirs. However, it should be fairly clear that at least some individuals sincerely considered Cape Dutch architecture and homesteads an appropriate material representation and symbol around which a common English/Afrikaner identity could be forged. This nationalist spirit is easily recognised in the movements that sprang up at the turn of the century to secure the preservation and restoration of many of the Cape Dutch homesteads. Even if the discourse around Cape Dutch homesteads was part of an English appropriation of early settler history, the promoters of the preservation movement certainly considered the buildings essential to a national history. Part of this was a realisation of the didactic potential that the homesteads, as museums or monuments, presented to visitors to them. Whilst the preservation movement was not by any means peculiar to South Africa it is important to acknowledge the extent to which it was motivated by sentiments particularly aimed at defining the history of a "nation."

The South African National Society: Representing A National History in Monuments

As has been mentioned already, the South African National Society (hereafter SANS) was the first institution along with the CIA to promote the preservation of Cape Dutch homesteads as being of national importance. On the 23rd December 1904, at a meeting in Cape Town presided over by Chief Justice Sir Henry de Villiers (later Lord), the South African

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[30] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.4, n.5, (December, 1920), p.10-11.
[31] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.4, n.4, (November, 1920), p.12.
[32] Goldberg, D. T., *Racist Culture. Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1996)
[33] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.4, n.4, (November, 1920), p.12.

Association decided to form the SANS.[34] On the 18th February 1905, the first general meeting of the SANS was held, whereupon a constitution was drawn up and officers were elected. That the SANS was a widespread and influential body can be deduced from the membership list.[35] In 1909 a branch was established in Durban and one in Pietermaritzburg in 1922. By 1922 there were 168 members in Cape Town, 74 in Durban and 13 in Pietermaritzburg,[36] a geographical tally that hinted at the fact that English-oriented South Africans were its main motivators. Its membership of 1922 makes up a formidable list of South African elite. The importance of this society is further illustrated by the attendance of the Governor-General of the Cape and H.R.H. Princess Alice at the 25th anniversary of the SANS held in the Castle in Cape Town on the 8th of April 1930.[37]

It is worth quoting the aims of the SANS at length as it clearly illustrates that the society was not merely intent on preserving Cape Dutch buildings (amongst others), but also to act as a didactic organ:

> To endeavour to inculcate respect and affection for the natural beauties of the country, to preserve, as far as possible, from destruction, all ancient monuments and specimens of old Colonial architecture still remaining in South Africa, and to keep systematic records of such in cases where they cannot be saved; to compile a record of old furniture, and other objects of interest still in South Africa, and to take all possible methods to discourage their removal from the country; to promote love and care for the trees and save unnecessary destruction; to endeavour to regulate the gathering of wild flowers so as to avoid the danger of the extinction of any species; to collect records, and endeavour to acquire archives of historic interest; to make known by means of lectures and printed matter circulated throughout the country, the object of the Society, and to endeavour to promote in legitimate manner reverence for the natural beauties of the country, and a conservative spirit towards the remains and traditions of old colonial life.[38]

That the SANS was not simply a group of antiquarians with a sentimental love of the "beautiful" was apparent very early on. The very name of the organisation certainly suggests that its preservation agenda was part of a nationalist agenda. By the 1910s it had inaugurated a series of public lectures and 'Half Hour Talks with the object of inculcating in the minds of the people, a spirit of respect and desire to preserve'.[39] The report of the SANS 25th anniversary considered this need to "inculcate" arose from the fact that in the early years 'The people as a whole had not realised the necessity of retaining our monuments of the past. As the years passed it was necessary to educate them to what should be looked upon as a *national* duty'.[40] [emphasis added].

That Cape Dutch architecture and Cape Dutch homesteads were to be a major part of their preservation and nationalist agenda is hinted at in the last sentence of their "Object" which was printed in each annual report: 'a conservative spirit towards the remains and traditions of old colonial life.' Certainly, one of the first exhibitions the SANS organised was a

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[34] [CAbox]A1414, v.31C: SANS 25th Anniversary, April 1930.
[35] See Appendix B.
[36] [CAbox]A1414, v.31C: SANS Annual Report, 1922.
[37] *Ibid.*: SANS 25th Anniversary, April 1930.
[38] *Ibid*:: SANS Annual Report, 1922.
[39] *Ibid.*: SANS 25th Anniversary, April 1930.

display of 'Colonial furniture and antiquities' in Cape Town.[41] One of their earliest successful projects was motivating for the preservation in 1913 of Koopmans-de-Wet house, an urban Cape Dutch house (Figure 1.2). The list of its protectors certainly confirms the active involvement of both the English and Afrikaner Cape and South African elite, including the wife of the Prime Minister of South Africa, Louis Botha.[42]

In a similar manner, the SANS had as early as 1906 been pressing the government to turn Groot Constantia, the Cape Dutch homestead of Simon van der Stel (the "father of the nation," as he was occasionally known), and a government vintners college at the time, into a museum.[43] The SANS, along with the Historical Monuments Commission (hereafter HMC), formed a committee appointed by the government to oversee restoration work on Groot Constantia after it was gutted by fire in 1925.[44] Yet, the SANS was not simply an institution for lobbying support for building preservation. When the architect Frank Kendall published his findings on *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*,[45] the SANS helped fund the considerable publishing costs[46] of the 1,000 copies printed.[47] The SANS also made payments in 1935 to James Morris for his architectural services rendered to restore the Cape Dutch Drostdy or Magistrate's Home at Tulbagh which had suffered a fire.[48] A year before they had paid towards some of the costs needed to restore the doors and doorway at the erstwhile Cape Dutch homestead in Cape Town then known as the Normal College.[49] The SANS was in effect, spending their member's subscriptions directly on preservation work and propaganda.

Yet, there are perhaps two projects that the SANS was involved with that had the greatest impact on the production and dissemination of the Cape Dutch homestead as a generic national icon. The first was the 1906 commissioning of the photographer Arthur Elliott to document and survey Cape Dutch homesteads in the Western Cape.[50] Elliott later continued the project of his own volition and produced a photographic archive of Cape Dutch homesteads of enormous proportions. In 1936, the HMC recommended that the Government purchase the entire 9,368 collection of Elliot's various photographs to be held at the State Archives building where they remain today.[51] The second project that the SANS were instrumental in achieving was the lobbying for Act No. 6 of 1923 which was passed, thereby establishing the HMC.[52] Although the HMC initially had limited powers in motivating for the governments involvement in the preservation of historical monuments, the Act was revised in 1934 as the Natural and Historical Monuments Relics and Antiques Act which allowed the Historical Monuments Commission (hereafter HMC) to make recommendations to the

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[40] [CAbox]A1414, v.31C: SANS 25th Anniversary, April 1930.
[41] *Ibid*:: SANS Annual Report, 1907.
[42] See Appendix C.
[43] [CAbox]A1414, v.31C: SANS Annual Report, 1906.
[44] Kendall, F. K., *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*, (Cape Town: Juta & Co. Ltd., 1927)p.12.
[45] *Ibid*.,
[46] [CAbox]A1414, v.31A: SANS Annual Report Balance Sheet, 1932-1933.
[47] [UCTbox]BC 206: Box 138, 1929.03.05, Letter from Juta & Co. to Kendall.
[48] [CAbox]A1414, v.31A: SANS Annual Report Balance Sheet, 1934-1935.
[49] *Ibid*.: SANS Annual Report Balance Sheet, 1933-1934.
[50] [CAbox]A1414, v.31C: SANS Annual Report, 1906.
[51] [SAHRA]HMC Minute Book 1, 1936.10.12.
[52] [CAbox]A1414, v.31C: SANS 25th Anniversary, April 1930.

Minister of Education to proclaim national monuments.[53] That Cape Dutch homesteads subsequently made up an inordinate amount of the national monuments of South Africa is a fact noted by Franco Frescura.[54]

The nationalist sentiments associated with the preservation of Cape Dutch homesteads were not limited to the SANS and its followers, although certainly their influence and occupations were diverse enough for it to be quite likely that its members may have regularly contributed articles on the topic to newspapers and magazines. A case in point is the un-authored article concerning the restoration of Bien Donne 1931, bought by Rhodes Fruit Farms because the trustees felt 'that this would be in keeping with the ideas of [Rhodes] that old monuments should, where possible, be preserved, so that, whilst looking to the future from a practical viewpoint, links with the older generation should be strengthened'.[55] The quote almost perfectly sums up Rhodes's imperialist vision being legitimised through a literal connection to the past as represented and strengthened through the preservation of Cape Dutch homesteads.

Preservation was an essential part of the nationalist didactic process, a fact well noted by the architects of the time. Consider Charles Walgate's view on the matter in an article titled 'A National Treasure in Danger' which was mainly considering the Cape's 17th Century pentangular "Castle" but did cross over into more explicitly Cape Dutch territory:

> Among the young nations South Africa is uncommonly fortunate in possessing architectural treasures preserving the history of its early years. The value of such remains in fostering a national spirit, and founding a national style is incalculable.[56]

Given that settler history was being written with the didactic intent of representing the English and Afrikaner as bearers of one common civilisation and history, it seems fair to suggest that any attempt to institute the preservation of Cape Dutch homesteads because of their 'historical' associations were, in one way or the other, part of the development of the new common English/Afrikaner identity. One of the rationales for preserving the Cape Dutch homesteads was the idea that they somehow were the purest representation of the time gone before, or at least a more true recording of the past than any written text; 'fossilised history' as the editor of the *AB&E* put it.[57] Historical buildings, and especially those containing the personable histories of settlers, were therefore the best mechanism for instruction on a national history grounded in settler mythology. Kendall, in a public lecture organised by the SANS that had an emphasis on Cape Dutch homesteads commented that:

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[53] Oberholster, J. J., *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, p.xix.
[54] Frescura, F., 'National or Nationalist? A Critique of the National Monunments Council, 1936-1989,' in Frescura, F. (eds), *Conserving a Heritage: Proceedings of a conference on 'Conservation in the Eastern Cape'* (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 1986)
[55] [News]*CT* 1931.06.09: 'Old Cape Homestead Restored.'
[56] [Mag] *South African Nation*, July 11, 1925, p.23.
[57] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.9, n.6, (January, 1926), p.1

> A nation's history is written more faithfully and impressively in its architecture than in any book. It is therefore incumbent upon each generation to hand on to posterity those monuments with which fortune has endowed it.[58]

And when writing in 1911about the loss of the 'stately' double-storied urban Cape to commercial development, Graham Botha, the Archivist for the Union of South Africa, hoped that those remaining would not 'share the same fate of those already demolished for they are the silent recorders of the past'.[59]

It was often fires, to which the thatched roofed homesteads were particularly prone, that galvanised the preservation and restoration of the homesteads. In 1931 a fire befell Parel Vallei, one of the Van der Stel brother's homesteads. The *AB&E* recorded the event in an editorial titled 'A National Calamity.'[60] It was lamented that 'some of *our* old homesteads are in private hands' [Emphasis added] although the important work that owners such as Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips had done in preserving Vergelegen was acknowledged.[61] In the same issue and in an article titled 'Our Old Houses,' the author of the article suggested it was time that the HMC and the Archives Department were 'granted much more extensive powers and funds, so that complete records are kept and repairs and restoration provided for and insisted upon in the case of every example of historic interest and beauty'.[62] That these examples of 'historic interest and beauty' were Cape Dutch homesteads was made quite clear in the article.

Undoubtedly, though, it was the fire that decimated Groot Constantia on the 19th December 1925 that brought preservation and the importance of turning the building into a museum directly into the focus of the public eye. Although the government had (at least since 1917) been considering Groot Constantia as 'something in the nature of show buildings',[63] it was only with the fire of 1925 and subsequent restoration that the production of Groot Constantia as museum became a directed activity. The January, 1926 edition of the *AB&E* reported that 'This is a national architectural calamity of the first degree',[64] and then went on to 'plead with all the force of which we are capable that the Government should immediately restore this historic building'[65] (Figure 1.5). Support also came from the Cape Town City Council. When the projected costs were set to rise from £8,000 to £12,000 this did not stop the call to restore the building to its fullest extent, in fact it seemed to have made arguments more strident. Consider the statement by Councillor S. Caldecott: 'It will cost twelve thousand pounds. It will cost that much (maximum) to rebuild this fine expression of the early White conquerors for the honour of their descendants'.[66] He goes on to make very the symbolic importance Groot Constantia presented to the building of a common English/Afrikaner identity:

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[58] [News]*CT* 1913.09.03: 'Colonial Dutch Architecture.'
[59] [News]*CT* 1911.05.06: 'An Old Dutch Building.'
[60] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.15, n.1, (August, 1931), p.1.
[61] *Ibid.*, p.1.
[62] *Ibid.*, p.7.
[63] [UCT]BC 206: Box 142, 1919.06.02, letter from Kendall to F.M. Glennie regarding remarks made by Mr. Smith, the Secretary of Agriculture, in his Report for the year ending 31st March 1917.
[64] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.9, n.6, (January, 1926), p.3.
[65] *Ibid.*,

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1.5 Cartoon showing the ghost of Simon Van der Stel urging the Labour leader Madeley to support the restoration of Groot Constantia. Source: [Mag]*South African Nation* (April, 1926).

> More especially, and more closely, it touches the descendants of the men of the race that built it, the compatriots of Van der Stel. But unless we, whose language and ways of thought, though allied and close, are other than theirs, are insincere in our profession of a desire to fuse and to mingle out traditions and pride with theirs in a common love of country, it touches us also. Groot Constantia can be restored.[67]

As was mentioned, the SANS helped fund the publication of Kendall's restoration work on Groot Constantia. Senator F.S. Malan, who at the time was President of the SANS and had, from 1910 to 1924, held the cabinet portfolio of Mines and Industry, contributed the Foreword in which the didactic intent of the restoration and the book are made clear:

> It was felt by the Society that this restoration would not only preserve a priceless national asset, but would also afford an unique opportunity for impressing upon the public by a direct object lesson, the importance, from a national point of view, of preserving the best types of one of the few really artistic creations, namely Cape Dutch Architecture, on which our southern continent prides itself [...] May the publication of this handsome record of Mr. Kendall's work, now satisfactorily completed, not only be of assistance to the architectural profession, but also be prized by all who love our storied past as enshrined in our ancient national monuments.[68]

The moves to have Groot Constantia preserved as part of a "national" heritage reinforcing a common English/Afrikaner identity are only one half of the story that emerged following the fire at Groot Constantia. For its restoration is a prime example of the general wilful and spurious restorations that took place in order to secure Cape Dutch homesteads as icons matching an ideal posited through earlier discourse.

Groot Constantia and Other Wilful and Spurious Restorations

Following governmental approval to restore Groot Constantia, the Minister of Public Works asked the CIA to nominate an architect to plan and oversee its restoration, and Frank Kendall was duly confirmed for the job some two months after the fire.[69] During the process of his investigations, and thanks to the unveiling effects of the fire, Kendall was able to establish that the house has been considerably altered during a period long after the death

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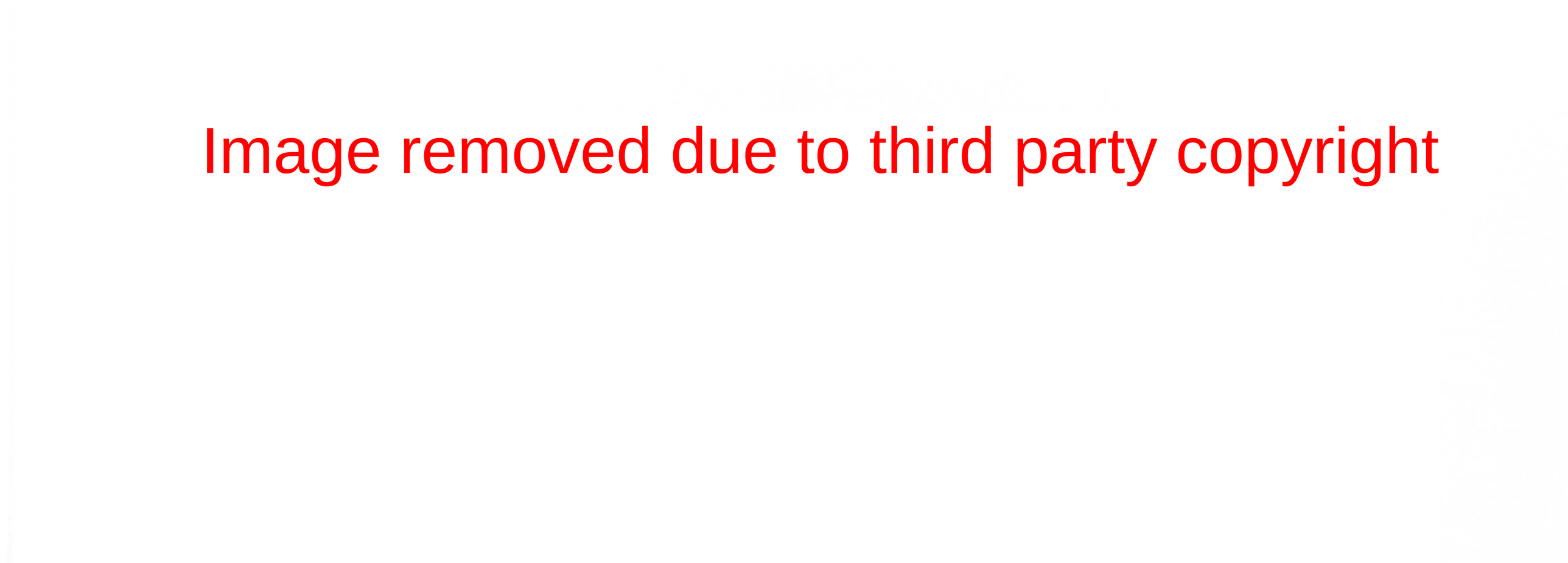
[66] [News]*The South African Nation* 1926.04.17: 'Groot Constantia – A matter of Pride'
[67] Ibid.
[68] Kendall, F. K., *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*, p.5-7.



1.6 Van der Heydt's illustration of the original Groot Constantia showing hipped roofs and no gables. Source: Kendall, F., *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*.

of Van der Stel into its form just before the fire. That the original dwelling of Simon van der Stel was a far more humble abode was not only confirmed through Kendall's archaeological investigations, but also through the reinterpretation of a drawing by Van der Heydt made in 1741 (Figure 1.6). This illustration was previously thought to be an inaccurate rendering of Van der Stel's residence because it depicted the dwelling with hipped roofs rather than the gables that were thought at the time to characterise Van der Stel's residence. Kendall now took Van der Heydt's illustration of an un-gabled and fairly humble abode to be an accurate illustration of the house during Van der Stel's time.

Kendall published these revelations in his *The Restoration of Groot Constantia* in which he refers to the commonly held view that Van der Stel had designed Groot Constantia as it was then known: 'although it goes to my heart to do so, I must dispel this illusion.'[70] Not only was Constantia assumed to have been "built" by Van der Stel and promoted as such by numerous individuals such as the Town Clerk, J.R. Finch, in the official guide to the Cape Peninsula,[71] but it was also taken by architects of significance such as J.M. Solomon to be the 'prototype of all the Cape homesteads'.[72] Not to mention the idea that the "father of the Nation," as Van der Stel was generally regarded thanks to his policy of introducing settlers to the Cape, had not lived in such a grand and noble building as had previously been supposed. The conflation of "great man" and "grand building" that had been assumed and promoted since the beginning of discourse on Cape Dutch architecture had been exposed for the wilful propaganda it was.

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[69] [UCTbox]BC 206: Box 45, 1926.02.02, Letter from Shand of the Public Works Department to Kendall.
[70] Kendall, F. K., *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*, p.13.
[71] Finch, J. R., *The Cape of Good Hope. Being the Official Handbook of the City of Capetown*, (Cape Town: City of Capetown, 1909), p.172.
[72] [News]*Transvaal Leader* 1914.02.23: 'Architecture in South Africa.'

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1.7 Groot Constantia Interior showing checker floor tiles, c1927. Source: [UCT]BC206.

Image removed due to third party copyright

1.8 Pieter de Hooch, *The Card Players*, 1658. Source: Rosenberg, J. et al, *Dutch Art and Architecture*.

Image removed due to third party copyright

1.9 Groot Constantia showing cannon 'improvement' implemented by Kendall, c.1927. Source: [UCT]BC206.

As required through the terms of his appointment, Kendall consulted the joint committee of the SANS and the HMC which was 'called upon to see that the restoration was conducted on lines which would preserve the traditions and appearance of the old Manor House without improvements'.[73] The committee considered restoring the dwelling to the Van der Stel period which would have meant tearing down its gables. As another alternative they considered restoring it to a condition just before the fire, which 'would mean immortalising a lean to iron roof at the back with a modern excrescence obviously out of harmony with the original conception'.[74] In the end, though '"*Constantia at its best*" was the formula agreed upon as most effectively meeting the real end in view'.[75] Exactly what 'the real end in view' was is not stated. It seems reasonable to interpret this as being the general desire to restore the original conflation of Simon van der Stel and Groot Constantia through the restoration of the building to its ideal "self."

Certainly the opening ceremony of Groot Constantia would suggest that this ideological restoration was successful. The opening ceremony was a major event in the year of 1927. As the Administrator of the Cape, Fourie, noted in his opening speech, there were many institutions represented: representatives of the Senate, the House of Assembly, the Provincial Council, the Judiciary, the Magistracy, the Municipalities of Cape Town, Wynberg, and Simon's Town, the Divisional Council of the Cape, the University, the Church, the Press, the Publicity Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the Army, the Navy, the Mountain Club and the

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[73] Kendall, F. K., *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*, p.12.
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] *Ibid.*

Consulates of foreign countries and not forgetting the South African National Society and the Historical Monuments Commission.[76] In a speech that made no mention of the controversy over the attribution of the gabled building to Van der Stel, Fourie located the value of the building with its association with Simon van der Stel whilst also admiring the wine cellar's 'beautiful pediment'. He ended his speech with the sentiment that the museum 'may long serve its purpose of ministering to the inspiration, instruction and delight of many generations to come'.

There is other evidence of wilful restoration that sought to return Groot Constantia to an ideal condition fitting to its status as an icon of Cape Dutch homesteads. Right from the beginning of his appointment, Kendall was involved in sourcing items of Cape Dutch metalwork and furniture to fill the homestead.[77] This aspect of the project received a major financial boost when the South African born Alfred de Pass, described by Kendall as 'A Connoisseur and Collector of various works of Art,'[78] offered to locate items of furniture for the project. Kendall mentions that De Pass had committed himself to add to the collection over the following years and 'it is hoped that something may be found which can actually be identified as having belonged to Simon van der Stel himself'.[79] Kendall's restoration of the flagstone floors can be seen in a similar way. Kendall spent a fair amount of energy trying to locate the clay source that Simon van der Stel had used for their manufacture, as they had become prone to disintegration thanks to the heat of the blaze.[80] The flagstones, as completed in Kendall's restoration, are a curious checkerboard pattern, not previously part of the homestead and which may have emerged out of cost-saving concerns (Figure 1.7). [81] Kendall also wilfully inserted a door between the two front rooms to the left of the entrance hall to permit 'a very desirable vista through these rooms,' which he felt 'would be quite consistent with the general ideas of a house of this kind'.[82] It seems plausible to suggest, then, that Kendall, following paintings depicting the layered space of Dutch interiors from Van der Stel's time such as Pieter de Hooch's *The Card Players* (See Figure 1.8), was simply restoring the dwelling to the ideal of the icon. In a final note on the somewhat wilful restoration Kendall organised, through De Pass, two small cannons to be brought from overseas based on no other rationale than 'the two guns flanking the Main Entrance from the *Stoep* would be admirable' [83] (Figure 1.9).

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[76] [News]*CT* 1927.09.22: 'Groot Constantia.'
[77] [UCTbox]BC 206: Box 45, 1926.02.17, Letter from V.S. Reese-Poole to Kendall.
[78] Kendall, F. K., *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*, p.37.
[79] *Ibid.*, p.38.
[80] [UCTbox]BC 206: Box 45, 1926.02.08, Letter from Kendall to Dorothea Fairbridge.
[81] [UCTbox]BC 206: Box 45, 1926.08.25, Letter from Kendall to Walgate.
[82] [UCTbox]BC 206: Box 45, 1926.11.26, Letter from Kendall to Graham Botha.
[83] [UCTbox]BC 206: Box 45, 1927.03.07, Letter from Kendall to De Pass.

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1.10 Gwelo Goodman, *Groot Constantia*. Source: Fairbridge, D. *Historic Houses of South Africa*.

Image removed due to third party copyright

1.11 Gwelo Goodman, gable "renovation" for Newlands House. Source: J. Newton-Thompson, *Gwelo Goodman*.

Kendall's was not the only restoration that returned Cape Dutch homesteads to their imagined ideal. Welgemeend, the homestead of "Onze Jan" Hofmeyr, leader of the Afrikaner Bond and occasional friend of Rhodes, was given the facelift of a gable it never originally had,[84] specifically in order to commemorate the "great" man. In another instance of spurious restoration, Rhodes' cottage at Muizenberg had its original corrugated iron roof removed and replaced with thatch[85] – a material and image more in keeping with that "great" man. The final example is found in the somewhat maverick work of Robert "Gwelo" Goodman, an England-born South African artist. Goodman, who was notably a friend of the architects James Morris and Frank Kendall, as well as Dorothea Fairbridge,[86] contrived a Cape Dutch restoration of his own. He had begun painting Cape Dutch homesteads at least by 1919[87] and by 1923 they formed the major subject of his exhibition in Grahamstown,[88] (Figure 1.10). It is not surprising, then, that as an amateur architect he focused most of his attention on the Cape Dutch style. When his friend, Judge Newton-Thompson, bought the much-altered Cape Dutch homestead of Newlands House where Goodman had stayed in the 1920s, Goodman offered his services in restoring the dwelling to its Cape Dutch origins[89] and designed two Cape Dutch gables at the new entrance to the dwelling (Figure 1.11). Goodman's architectural career promoting Cape Dutch architecture did not end there. Thanks to his friendship with the sugar-baron Douglas Mackeurton, he was invited to design many buildings in the plantation town of Tongaat in Natal, and not only set Cape Dutch as the style for most subsequent designs there, but also literally copied some well known Cape Dutch buildings, for instance, Tongaat High School is an almost exact replica of the Old Slave Lodge/Supreme Court building in Cape Town.

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[84] Fransen, H. and Cook, M. A., *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, (Cape Town: A A Balkema, 1980), p.77. I am grateful to Stewart Harris (researcher) for pointing this out to me.
[85] *Ibid.*, p.124.
[86] Newton-Thompson, J, *Gwelo Goodman. South African Artist*, (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1951), p.41 and p.44.
[87] Newton-Thompson, J, *Gwelo Goodman*, p.41 and p.47.
[88] *Ibid.*, p.41 and p.69.
[89] *Ibid.*, p.41 and p.87.

Promotion and Dissemination of Cape Dutch as a National Style

That the first few decades of the twentieth century were characterised by a rise in nationalism the world over is mirrored in the explicit agenda of many "nations" to establish or recover a national style of architecture. South Africa, as we shall see, was caught up in this general movement. Yet this agenda was not immediately apparent in the early years of the discourse emerging around Cape Dutch architecture in general and Cape Dutch homesteads in particular. In the first few years after 1910, the SANS organised a series of public slide lectures given mostly by Frank Kendall constituting lessons on Cape Dutch architecture. Even though Kendall made it clear at these lectures that 'a style in architecture may be described as a concrete expression of national character',[90] there is little evidence to suggest that Kendall or the SANS were at that stage actively promoting Cape Dutch as the basis for a national style. The lectures were more aimed at establishing a common English/Afrikaner identity through the symbol of existing Cape Dutch homesteads and urging their preservation and restoration than demands that the good folk should be patriotically erecting whitewashed gables to their houses. Yet there is enough to suggest that a national style of architecture was being pursued as part of an educational agenda as early as 1914, although it is more difficult to establish if this was precisely to be Cape Dutch in style. In a report on the exhibition held for students taking architectural courses at the South African College of Mines and Technology in the Transvaal, E.H. Waugh comments on the lecturer, Gordon Leith's intention to 'do something towards evolving the national expression in architecture to which he referred, and he wished him all success in his task'.[91] Although not spelling out Cape Dutch as the necessary requisite for this, Cape Dutch seems to have been the only viable style proposed.

From the very beginning of discourse around it, Cape Dutch architecture as an historical event was represented as a then original, and particularly South African, style. Baker considered it as much when he wrote that it emerged when the French classical revival 'mingled with the architecture of Holland and Belgium has helped to create a South African style'.[92] An article in the *AB&E* titled 'Old Cape Craftsmanship,' in considering Cape Dutch architecture and craftsmanship, offered a slightly more nationalist reading. Admitting this architecture had emerged out of a greater European tradition, the article also suggested 'there is much of an original style in it. Of all the dominions, we are the only one to possess an unique style. It should be our duty to develop it'.[93] And yet promoting Cape Dutch as a new, particularly South African, architectural style that had occurred in the past did not amount to advocating it as a national style for the future. Walgate came a bit closer to the possible use of Cape Dutch as a national style when, whilst commenting on how important the preservation of historical buildings was, he made the following comment: 'The value of such remains in fostering a national spirit, and founding a national style is incalculable. It is a

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[90] [News]*CT* 1913.09.03: 'Colonial Dutch Architecture.'
[91] [Mag]*AA*, v.4, n.6 (November, 1914), p.17.
[92] Trotter, A. F. and Baker, H., *Old Colonial Houses of the Cape of Good Hope*, (London: B.T. Batsford, 1900), p.5.
[93] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.3, n.12, (July, 1920), p.15.

Image removed due to third party copyright

1.12 Yellowwood Wardrobe, Characteristic of Cape Dutch Furniture. Source: *Groot Constantia Catalogue, 1934*

fact accepted by critics all over the world that the buildings of the Cape constitute a separate and highly developed style of architecture'.[94]

That Cape Dutch architecture was understood to be the basis for a national architectural style was a common sentiment expressed by many architects and politicians in the 1920s. Just exactly how literally this was intended to be taken, was a matter for debate. Baker had, in his years at the Cape, developed a Cape Dutch revival style, that, apart from being un-typically double storied, carried with it simplest visual clues of Cape Dutch homesteads: white-washed walls and gables. Yet in following the spirit of the Arts & Crafts movements Baker saw within the Cape Dutch homestead the organic development of a style that had emerged out of the strictures of its place and as a response to local climatic, material and cultural conditions; style was not as important as rooting the building to place.[95]

It is difficult to believe the sincerity of Baker's canvassing for the correctness of organic or place-based architecture when, after moving to Johannesburg, he designed many houses there in the manner of the Cape Dutch revival style he had pioneered in Cape Town. In a way, it seems more plausible to consider the words of Rex Martienssen, who later became South Africa's venerated modernist architects, as being more genuinely attuned to the place-based and organic aspects of Cape Dutch. In an article written in 1928 following a tour of Cape Dutch homesteads, Martienssen wrote that 'the ideals [of Cape Dutch] must remain unbroken. The spirit live on,'[96] but that it was important that 'we must not copy, we must find our own solutions to the problems we will meet'.[97]

Whether or not Baker or Martienssen was more sincere in their suspicions of the trappings of "style" is somewhat irrelevant. Certainly people were willing to credit Baker for the development of Cape Dutch as the basis for a national style. In fact, in dedicating his *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*, Kendall writes: 'To Herbert Baker who awakened an interest in the arts of the old Cape settlers and laid the foundation of a national architecture in South Africa.'[98] Even if Baker had moved on to adventures in classical revival in the Union

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[94] [Mag] *South African Nation*, July 11, 1925, p.23.
[95] [News]*CT* 1905.05.15: 'South African Architecture.'
[96] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.13, n.50, (June, 1928), p.32.
[97] *Ibid.*
[98] Kendall, F. K., *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*

Buildings in Pretoria and the classical-colonial stylings of New Delhi, others were still willing to advocate Cape Dutch as a national architectural style in his name.

Baker was also credited with providing the country with the basis for a national style in furniture design. In an article titled 'How we can Achieve a National Style in this Country,' Professor Pearse noted that 'In this country we owe a great debt to Sir Herbert Baker for the interest created by him in the Dutch furniture at the Cape, and for the furniture designs which he has had carried out'.[99] That Cape Dutch furniture was uniquely South African was suggested in an article in the *Cape Argus* by T. Elliston-Clarkson, who states that 'in South Africa, it seems, only two of the arts have been truly good and truly South African. The one of these is architecture and the other is cabinet-making'[100] (Figure 1.12). Perhaps the strongest call to Cape Dutch as a national style was made by the *AB&E*, which ran an article titled 'Old Cape Craftsmanship' in July 1920. In it, both Cape Dutch architecture and furniture, as represented in the homesteads, were pointed to as the basis for a future national style, but also more simply, as the basis for domestic architecture in South Africa in general.

> With the increasing expansion of a truly South African national spirit a more widespread interest is being taken in those beautiful specimens of furniture craftsmanship which have been preserved to us from those spacious Cape homesteads which were built in the latter half of the eighteenth century [...] We feel, therefore, with the growth of an essentially South African spirit we cannot do better than to urge a sound study of the examples of architecture and craftsmanship left to us an South Africa, particularly of those remitted from the latter half of the eighteenth century – that period which is now recognised as having left us the most attractive models [...] It is true that early Cape craftsmanship is based on European examples, mainly the beautiful proportions and curves of, what is called, the Queen Anne period. Yet there is much of an original style in it. Of all the dominions, we are the only one to possess an unique style. It should be our duty to develop it [...] We want beautiful, yet not extravagant, homes, and we cannot do wrong in following these early Cape models.[101]

Charles Walgate, an architect of Cape Dutch persuasions, spoke at a meeting of the Cape Architectural Students Association, stressing that it was 'a greater thing' to work towards a national style than to pursue an individual one.[102] He went on to stress that students needed to gather 'pictures and books and drawings' to bring the style into focus. It seems significant that the article appeared in the *AB&E* which, along with many other publications and events, was providing enough drawings, books and pictures on Cape Dutch architecture to do exactly that. Walgate, through his position as an assessor of architectural students' work, was involved in prescribing Cape Dutch homesteads as the basis for measured drawing exams half a year later[103] which suggests he was literally helping students build up this visual data based on Cape Dutch homesteads. Prof. A.E. Snape, lecturer to architectural students

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[99] [News]*CA* 1927.10.08: 'Modern Furniture in Europe and South Africa.'
[100] [News]*CA* 1924.12.13: 'Our fine South African Furniture.'
[101] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.3, n.12, (July, 1920), p.15, Transvaal Provincial Institute, Mr F. Williamson, President's Valedictory Address.
[102] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.5, n.11, (June, 1922), p.7.
[103] [CAmin]A1659 v.1/1: CIA Sub-Committee, 1923.02.15.

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1.13 Fred Glennie drawing of Groot Constantia Wine Cellar, 1912. Source: Fairbridge, D., *Historic Houses of South Africa.*

at the University of Cape Town in the 1920s, gave no doubt as to where he thought the sources of a 'national culture' lay: 'In South Africa we inherit from the old Dutch examples of architecture a graceful simplicity and clear ideals which suit this country admirably. And though we must not be slavish copyists, yet here is our inspiration on which we must develop.'[104]

Slavish Copyists: Mapping the Cape Dutch Gables

Being literal 'slavish copyists' was certainly one of the techniques employed by educational and institutional promoters of the Cape Dutch style in their attempts to inculcate both knowledge and veneration for the original homesteads. The Cape Institute of Architects (CIA) inaugurated a prize-giving scheme of measured drawings of 'old buildings in the Cape Colony,'[105] with the first prize being awarded to Fred Glennie in 1912 for his set of drawings of Groot Constantia wine cellar,[106] (Figure 1.13). The didactic intent of the CIA regarding Cape Dutch architecture is perhaps indicated by the fact that 100 copies of the 12 drawings of this competition were made, costing £32,[107] a somewhat considerable expense at the time. Whether these were intended for sale or distribution to members is not particularly relevant: what is clear is that the CIA intended or expected to distribute images of a part of the Groot Constantia homestead to a fairly large audience. Cape Dutch homesteads were a dominant part of the measured-drawing lists prescribed by the CIA. Perhaps even more revealing was the focus on gables: the 1913 competition was limited strictly to a composition of six 'Dutch gables to ½ scale and full size details'[108] whilst the competition of 1914 prescribed 'two gables and two pediments, ½ scale and full size details'.[109] As we shall see in a section below, this almost obsessive reproduction and focus on gables was indicative of a propensity to ignore the other buildings making up the homesteads; social space was ignored in favour of the exact measurements of "high" architecture. The measured drawing competition continued as an annual event in the Cape at least until 1922, whereupon the competition was opened to students from all over the country.[110]

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[104] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.6, n.4, (November, 1922), p.17.
[105] [CAmin]A1659 v.1/1: CIA, 1911.07.13.
[106] *Ibid.*, 1912.03.07.
[107] *Ibid.*, 1912.08.27.
[108] *Ibid.*, 1913.05.13.
[109] *Ibid.*, 1914.03.18.
[110] *Ibid.*, 1922.05.10.

A sub-committee of the CIA, including Delbridge, Kendall and Walgate, made up the Royal Institute of British Architects (hereafter RIBA) board of assessors of students' work at the University of Cape Town after its establishment in 1922.[111] Cape Dutch architecture in general and Cape Dutch homesteads in particular, dominate the lists of legitimate subjects as part of the measured drawing component of work to be submitted at least for 1923[112] and 1924.[113] It was also noted at the bottom of the list for 1923 that 'students should measure drawings not in CIA sketch Book'[114] which is indicative of the intention of the CIA to have most of the Cape Dutch homesteads and other historical buildings measured and mapped out. The CIA was not alone in these endeavours. In 1920, thanks to a grant made by the government,[115] the Pretoria, and later Afrikaans nationalist architect, Gerard Moerdyk, had made 'an extensive tour of the Cape and surveyed the most important of these [Cape Dutch] buildings'.[116] These drawings were later lost at the High Commissioner's Office in London. In 1928 Professor Pearse took a group of 11 architectural students from Johannesburg on what Rex Martienssen (later an exponent of South African modernism) called an 'Architectural Pilgrimage'.[117] Judging from Martienssen's report, there is little doubt that Pearse intended to have the students survey and draw as many of the homesteads as possible.[118] Among other parts of the Cape, they spent as many as five weeks in the Cape Dutch rich region of Paarl, met some of the main promoters of the preservation and nationalist movement such as Dorothea Fairbridge and Lady Phillips, and also studied Herbert Baker's Cape work.[119] Pearse later made extensive use of their measured drawings in his *Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa*.[120]

Obviously the measured drawing competitions were also important for providing the stewards of the city precise architectural details from which increasingly accurate facsimiles of Cape Dutch homesteads could be constructed. An example of this is the use of the façade of Groot Constantia for the Empire Exhibition in 1924 – examined in the next section. It is important to acknowledge that the measured drawings were a literal mapping out of Cape Dutch homesteads, mirroring the production of knowledge of the buildings and their use in the politics of nationalism and Empire.

Official Buildings and the Cape Dutch Style

Kendall, at a lecture before the Society of Artists in 1925, was clearly exaggerating when he suggested that 'scarcely a house is erected to-day that does not bear signs of Cape Dutch influence'.[121] Certainly within the mind's eye of some of the stewards of the city, Cape Dutch, as a national style, was a *fait accompli*. In a letter to the editor of the *Cape Argus* in 1923,

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[111] [CAmin]A1659 v.1/3: CIA, 1922.05.01.
[112] [CAmin]A1659 v.1/1: CIA Sub-Committee, 1923.02.15.
[113] *Ibid.*, 1924.08.27.
[114] *Ibid.*, 1923.02.15.
[115] [UCT]BC 206: Box 145, 1926.01.12, Letter from G.E. Pearse to Kendall.
[116] Pearse, G. E., *Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa*, (London: B.T. Batsford, 1933), p.vii.
[117] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.13, n.50, (June, 1928), p.29.
[118] *Ibid.*
[119] *Ibid.*, p.29-30.
[120] Pearse, G. E., *Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa*, p.vii.
[121] [News]*CT* 1925.07.27: 'Cape Dutch Style of Architecture.'

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1.14 Gerard Moerdyk winning competition entry for Prime Minister's Residence, Pretoria. Source: [Mag]*SAAR*, April, 1934.

Lady Phillips, whose Cape Dutch homestead, Vergelegen, was nearing completion of its restoration and addition, commented that the imminent creation of the new Union Art Gallery which was reported to be in the 'Cape Dutch style' with the following comment:

> South Africa is fortunate in already having a national style in architecture and furniture and metal work – the heritage of the early Dutch. These precious relics of the past, left us by a nation renowned for the purity of its taste, should be guarded and treasured by us all.[122]

However, despite the efforts to promote Cape Dutch architecture as a national style it enjoyed limited success in the Cape and less so in the rest of South Africa, and did not dominate the production of new domestic architecture. As we shall see in the Chapter Three, Cape Dutch as a revival style was given the most interest by those who were actively promoting it – largely those who were involved in shoring up the Empire and who I have chosen to call "the stewards of the city." In fact, as late as 1929, the President of the Transvaal Institute of Architects, in his Valedictory Address, still seemed to be searching for a national style that could foster a common English/Afrikaner identity:

> It should be the object of every student and every architect to attempt to develop a National style of architecture in South Africa. In a community composed of many races with diverse views, this is no simple task. Our responsibilities in this direction are nevertheless great, and it is the duty of all of us to develop, wherever possible, styles most suitable to this country, with the purpose of eventually evolving that character in our work which will lead to a definite National character.[123]

It should, however, be noted that there were some important areas in which Cape Dutch had a large impact on defining what a South African identity might constitute, and this was in the region of official and institutional buildings. That the Union Buildings in Pretoria, designed by Baker, had only nominal Cape Dutch elements such as windows, doors and brass work,[124] would seem to suggest that the arguments for Cape Dutch as a national style did not carry much weight even for Baker himself. There is enough evidence to hint that this was not the case. Consider, for example, the competition for the design of the Governor-General's residence in Cape Town at which Herbert Baker was one of the three assessors. That the editor of the *African Architect (*hereafter *AA*) – which later transformed into the *South African*

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[122] [News]*CA* 1926.12.23: 'Union's New Art Gallery.'
[123] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.14 n..53 (March, 1929), p.27.
[124] Grieg, D., *Herbert Baker in South Africa*, (Cape Town: Purnell and Sons, Pty, Ltd., 1970), p.186.

Architectural Record – expressed some resentment that 'about one-third of the drawings [exhibiting] the style and characteristics peculiar to one of the assessor's',[125] makes it almost certain that Cape Dutch was the style pursued and deemed appropriate. A report by E.H. Waugh in a later edition of the *AA* confirms this.[126] Although no award was made on the basis of what was considered to be deficiencies in planning, the assessor's report almost literally referenced Groot Constantia as a model for what the assessors had in mind as appropriate architecture for the King's representative in the country, namely, 'the home of an English gentleman, who occasionally has to entertain in a princely style'.[127]

In a similar manner, the competition for the Prime Minister's new residence in Pretoria, as drawn up by the Public Works Department in 1935, drew criticism for the inclusion of the following sentence which was understood to be requiring the building be in the Cape Dutch style: 'It is suggested that the design might be on simple lines, while not slavishly following, yet suitably based on the fine old traditional work of this country.'[128] That the article criticising these strictures appeared in the *SAAR* was indicative of that magazine's increasing modernist leanings, as we shall see below. Yet, it should be noted that some individual or individuals in the government and the Public Works Department, had deemed it appropriate that the Prime Minister of South Africa should live in a Cape Dutch style dwelling whilst resident in Pretoria, to which Gerard Moerdyk's winning entry obliged (Figure 1.14).

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1.15 Groot Constantia main house front gable.
Source: Author.

Image removed due to third party copyright

1.16 South African Pavilion, Entrance Gable.
Source: [Mag]*Building*, December 1924.

Representations of a South African identity through national or governmental building projects using Cape Dutch as a stylistic source was not limited to projects on home soil. The South African government and its provincial subsidiaries used the whitewashed gable and other Cape Dutch characteristics as the basis for a number of projects overseas. The prime

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[125] [Mag]*AA*, v.3 no.6, (November, 1913), p.276.
[126] [Mag]*AA*, v.3 no.9, (February, 1914), p.313.
[127] [Mag]*AA*, v.3 no.6, (November, 1913), p.276.
[128] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.20, n.3, (March, 1935), p.84.

example is perhaps the South African pavilion at the Empire Exhibition in Wembley, London, in 1924.Covering an area of some 50,000 square feet, the pavilion was constructed following the detail design of London-based Simpson & Ayrton Architects,[129] and following Baker's somewhat begrudging approval of the design in his capacity as an honorary consultant.[130] Of particular significance for this study is not only simply the use of Cape Dutch gables in the design, but the almost exact replication of the front gable of Groot Constantia at the entrance to the pavilion (Figure 1.16). Differing slightly in proportion and missing the attic-height window above the door, the entrance gable of the pavilion is a clear copy of Groot Constantia's entrance gable (Figure 1.15). At a time when the conflation of the "father" of the nation and "his" house had not yet been shown to be somewhat erroneous, the design suggests a direct intent to represent South Africa to the rest of the Empire and the world as having arisen from a "grand" history with the literal replication of its "grandest" and "oldest" building. In essence, Groot Constantia was represented as the archetypal South African building, which in turn became emblematic of South Africa's part of the British Empire.

The South African pavilion at the Empire Exhibition contained a central zone made up of museum areas extending from the entrance towards two cinemas at the back, and flanked by exhibitions areas indicated as 'Education' and 'Natives.' This central zone effectively split the pavilion into two halves, the one to the right of the entrance predominantly covering agriculture, and the one to the left predominantly covering industry. Mixed in with these general areas were exhibition spaces dedicated to cities and large areas given to Rhodesia, belying its status as a virtual colony of South Africa. Cape Town, along with Durban and Port Elizabeth, was one of the three cities represented at the pavilion. With two main areas of around 3,000 square feet in total, Kendall was given the task of setting up the exhibition space for the City, perhaps following Baker's initial concept.[131]

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1.17 Kendall's Cape Dutch 'Voorhuis' design as Cape Town's exhibition at the South African Pavilion at the Empire Exhibition, London, 1924. Source: [UCTimage]BC206, Portfolio.

Kendall described the basic concept as an attempt to recreate the 'Voorhuis (or Entrance Room), representing a typical room in one of the old Dutch houses, and accommodating furniture of the period'[132] (Figure 1.17). This was linked by a pergola to the other main exhibition space which consisted of a series of large photographs showing Cape Town and its surrounds. The entrance door, placed along one of the main passageways of the pavilion, was purposefully aligned with a similar door on the opposite

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[129] [Mag]Building, 4th quarterly part, (December, 1924), p.101.
[130] [UCTbox]BC 206: Box 36, 1923.09.26, Letter from Baker to Kendall.
[131] *Ibid.*, 1923.09.26, Letter from Baker to Kendall.
[132] *Ibid.*, 1924.01.10, Letter from Kendall to Wayt.

wall of the room thereby allowing clear sight of the photographs displayed on the wall beyond.[133]

Although hardly a perfect replica of a front hall in a typical Cape Dutch homestead – the addition of two walls running between the paired windows on either side of the entrance door would have given a more correct proportion – Kendall, and the City of Cape Town as the client, did go to considerable effort and expense to render the project as close to its original type as possible. The doors and windows were manufactured in Cape Town, copying an undisclosed original house, but bearing a marked resemblance to the doors and windows at the Oude Pastorie in Paarl. The wall at the entrance was specifically constructed 15 inches thick so as to provide the necessary deep window jambs and reveals, whilst hollow ceiling beams were constructed at three feet intervals to simulate the appearance the typical ceiling construction.[134]

Kendall also spent considerable effort on trying to have a steel column within the space of the room relocated, but to no avail.[135] Following a public appeal,[136] items of original Cape Dutch furniture and paintings and illustrations to be displayed on the walls were sent to London on loan. At Baker's suggestion that Kendall himself should go 'home'[137] (not forgetting that Kendall had been born in Australia) to London to supervise the project, the City Council ended up paying Kendall's partner James Morris £100 to oversee the job.[138] The "Voorhuis" was used, significantly, as the reception room for the Royal Family during their visit to the South African pavilion in July 1924,[139] whilst its windows and doors eventually made their way back to Cape Town where they were used in the post office at Sea Point.[140]

There were other instances of the promotion of Cape Dutch icons at the Empire Exhibition. Dorothea Fairbridge specifically prepared a pamphlet on *The Old Houses of the Cape of Good Hope and their Furniture* to be provided along with other CPPA brochures.[141] The list of the 74 photographs put on display by the City of Cape Town includes an extensive number of Arthur Elliot photographs of Cape Dutch homesteads.[142] Significantly, there is one photograph listed illustrating a 'Malay Mosque,' and the last photo, literally as an afterthought indicated by the changed ink on the original, depicts a 'Native Group.' That Cape Town and the Cape Peninsula was intentionally represented as predominantly picturesque and part of a grand European tradition through its emphasis on Cape Dutch architecture, and with a marginal nod to marginalized Others was made very clear by the list.

The Cape Town exhibition was a great success. The City's representative in London who wrote as much to Kendall went on to add: 'In regard to the Exhibition there is only

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[133] [News]*CT* 1923.11.08: caption to plan showing pavilion layout.
[134] [UCTbox]BC 206: Box 36, 1924.01.10, Letter from Kendall to Wayt.
[135] [*Ibid.*, general letters between Kendall and Simpson & Ayrton Architects.
[136] [News]*CA* 1923.10.11: 'Cape Town's Home at Empire Exhibition.'
[137] [UCTbox]BC 206: Box 36, 1923.11.06, Letter from Baker to Kendall.
[138] *Ibid.*, 1924.01.04, Letter from Morris to the Chairman of the Internal Arrangements Committee.
[139] [UCTbox]BC 206: Box 36, 1924.07.21, Letter from Wayt to Kendall.
[140] [News]*CA* 1935.12.02.
[141] [UCTbox]BC 206: Box 36, 1924.01.07, Letter from Kendall to Wayt.
[142] *Ibid.*, List of Photographs. See Appendix D.

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1.18 Jan Juta, Mural of Vergelegen, South Africa House. Source: McNab, R., *The Story of South Africa House.*

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Image removed due to third party copyright

1.19 Herbert Baker, model /photo composite of South Africa House showing proposed gable. Source: McNab, R. *The Story of South Africa House.*

1.20 South Africa House interior. Source: Office of the High Commissioner, *South Africa House.*

feeling for all of us connected with the British Empire who have seen it, and that is one of pride that we belong to one of the Nations represented in it.'[143]

Clearly then, Cape Dutch architecture and artefacts were considered successful representational imagery whereby South African nationalism was thoroughly and un-contradictorily integrated into the vision of the British Empire. In fact, 'an old Dutch Homestead' would be used in another Empire Exhibition at Bellahouston Park, Glasgow in 1938.[144] That Cape Dutch architecture and artefacts constituted a significant part of South Africa House in London's Trafalgar Square was simply an extension of its use as representational imagery of South African nationalism integrated into the British Empire. Baker's original design (Figure 1.19) showed a central Cape Dutch gable and tiled roof but

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[143] [UCTbox]BC 206: Box 36, 1924.07.21, Letter from Wayt to Kendall.
[144] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.21, n.9, (April, 1938), p.2.

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this was rejected by the Fine Arts Commission.[145] Although Baker modified the design to fit in with the other buildings around Trafalgar Square, the building's windows and doors are clearly Cape Dutch in origin. An entrance hall is even called a 'Voorkamer' in an official pamphlet[146] (Figure 1.20) and with its wooden beamed ceiling, flagstone floor, and furniture, goes some of the way to recreate a Cape Dutch interior. Paintings and relief sculptures continue the Cape Dutch theme: Goodman contributed murals depicting Cape Dutch homesteads and Jan Juta contributed a pastoral mural depicting Vergelegen, with Willem Adriaan van der Stel and slaves toiling in the estate (Figure 1.18).

1.21 Groot Constantia gable as Dinner Menu Cover for the first Congress of South African Architects, 1928. Source: [Mag]*SAAR*, December, 1928.

Waning Enthusiasm

Perhaps the Cape Dutch gable reached its apotheosis (for architects) as an emblem of national architecture when it appeared on the menu of the first South African Architect's Congress in 1928 (Figure 1.21). By the early and mid-1930s opinion amongst architects, particularly in the increasingly modernist *South African Architectural Record* (hereafter *SAAR*), was starting to turn against Cape Dutch as necessarily the ideal South African style. Certainly a Professor A. Winter-Moore felt that a nation formed a national art and not vice-versa, and included the following pejorative comment: 'In the meantime I suppose that we shall continue to ape the Cape farm house in our public buildings.'[147] Although the *SAAR* had published numerous pin-up style photographs of Cape Dutch homesteads – for example those submitted by latterly celebrated modernist architects such as Norman Hanson[148] – and a few articles extolling the virtues of the Cape Dutch style through the years[149] (especially as its earlier incarnation as *The African Architect*),[150] it certainly began to promote modernism and the International Style above the vernacular traditions of the Cape Dutch in the 1930s. The *SAAR* went so far as to publish a satirical cartoon in 1933 depicting Herbert Baker as the midwife to Geoffrey Pearse's birth of Groot Constantia (Figure 1.22). The joke is a play on the discovery that the building originally revered as Simon van der Stel's had been constructed under the favour of

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[145] McNab, R., *The Story of South Africa House*, (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1983), p.25.
[146] Office of the High Commissioner of the Union of South Africa, *South Africa House*, ([London]: Office of the High Commissioner of the Union of South Africa, 1933)
[147] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.20, n.1, (January, 1935), p.7.
[148] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.15, n.59, (September, 1930) and [Mag]*SAAR*, v.15, n.60, (December, 1930).
[149] See for example, [Mag]*SAAR*, v.13, n.49, (March, 1928), 'The Old Domestic Architecture of Cape Town,' p.3.
[150] See for example, [Mag]AA, v.2, n.10, (March, 1913), 'editorial Comments,' p.149.

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1.22 Cartoon showing Herbert Baker playing midwife to Geoffrey Pearse's birth of the South African 'nation,' Groot Constantia after revelations of the mistaken attribution of the building to Simon van der Stel's authorship. Source: [Mag]*SAAR*, April 1934.

a later owner and was most likely a friendly jibe aimed at the Pearse's recent publication celebrating eighteenth century architecture in South Africa.[151] Although Pearse's book did not focus on Groot Constantia or on Cape Dutch architecture solely, the punning title of the cartoon, 'The Birth of a Notion,' acknowledges the role which architects, academics and others in general had played in using Cape Dutch architecture to promote ideas of nationhood. The initials listed in the 'Visitor's Book' on the wall are those of the architects and students Pearse voiced his indebtedness to in the Preface of the book and who had accompanied him on the Cape Dutch "pilgrimage" in 1928.

In contrast to the *SAAR*'s emerging modernist agenda, the *AB&E* had always been more firmly rooted in the Arts & Crafts ideologies and, through its location in the Cape had made the dissemination of Cape Dutch style and the veneration of the old homesteads an almost moral agenda. As late as 1934 it was running articles promoting Cape Dutch, if not as a national style then certainly as appropriate for the development of a new civic and monumental tradition, and even advocated, contrary to the spirit of Arts & Crafts, deceit in materials where necessary: 'We can build in concrete and thatch over that if fire is an issue.'[152] However, aside from an article in 1938 praising the Elliott Exhibition of architectural and other photographs which architects were urged to see so as to 'inspire them to carry on

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[151] Pearse, G. E., *Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa*
[152] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.17, n.11, (June, 1934), p.3.

worthily [the Peninsula's] best traditions,"[153] the magazine shows an increasing lack of interest in Cape Dutch architecture in the late 1930s until the Second World War ended its production in 1940.

Conclusion

Faced with the task of defining a common English/Afrikaner identity at the beginning of the Union of South Africa, and perhaps inspired by building preservation and nationalist architectural movements in England, local architects, politicians, historians and journalists set about using Cape Dutch architecture as a device through which a common English/Afrikaner identity could be symbolised. Through various symbolic and rhetorical means and as an act of appropriation, Cape Dutch architecture was claimed by its predominantly English motivators to be literally a common English/Afrikaner heritage in whose production the English had had a hand, thereby placing the English with the Dutch at the original settlement of the Cape. At the same time, Cape Dutch architecture, and Cape Dutch homesteads in particular, were represented as a common *inheritance* needing care and attention – acts of preservation, it was understood, would bring English and Afrikaner together. The preservation movement also understood its role in securing museums and monuments that could instruct English and the Afrikaner on their common heritage, but in the process, set in motion wilful and propagandistic restorations where gables became emblematic of an idealised and romanticised history.

In correlation with the preservation movement, Cape Dutch architecture, and particularly the gable of Groot Constantia, began to define a national style and to be used in official buildings, in the process of which, Cape Dutch architecture started to locate South Africa and its settler history un-problematically in the logic of the British Empire. It should be noted, that this chapter has focused on representations of Cape Dutch architecture as a *positive symbol* around which an English/Afrikaner identity could be structured. Most identity formation, however, needs a negative to define itself against – it is by what it is not. The following chapter, then, is a close reading of the settler history and discourse around Cape Dutch architecture that started to be written in support of the preservation and nationalist movements focused on Cape Dutch architecture, in which Cape Dutch architecture started to be defined as a counterpoint to the "barbarity" of "Africa."

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[153] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.21, n.6, (January, 1938), p.3.

2. Markers of Western Civilisation:
Cape Dutch Homesteads and the Absence of "Others"

Introduction

In 1919, F. Clarke, Professor of Education at the University of Cape Town, published an article titled 'Memorandum on the Teaching of History' which looked at the role of History as a primary school subject. That article is fundamental to this thesis for the following three reasons. Firstly, it unequivocally locates the basis of all teaching of History as narrating the growth and dominance of Western civilisation from the time of South Africa's first settlement:

> The model scheme issued by the Department is based on the view that the central theme of South African history is *the struggle of 'Western' Civilization to establish itself in a barbarous land.* That struggle is not yet over; civilization is not yet securely established. Every South African citizen from the time of van Riebeeck has been a missionary of civilization, and every South African child to-day must be trained to be a missionary in the same sense[1] (original emphasis).

That idea that the struggle for civilisation 'is not yet over' is an important aspect explored in Chapter Five, as the concept of securing 'civilisation' was one of the basic rationales for the slum clearance and housing programme embarked on precisely the year of the article's publication. Secondly, Clarke spells out very clearly the idea explored in the previous Chapter that Afrikaner and Englishman alike share a common history based in the broader narrative of Western civilisation and European history: 'The civilization we inherit is a *common* possession, and we shall make poor South African citizens of our children if we do not help them to see their own place and the place of their country in the whole' (original emphasis). It is the last phrase 'the place of their country in the whole' that clearly locates South Africa as a part of Europe. And thirdly, the article suggests that one of the main ways of exposing this common civilisation is by telling the story of 'great' names in the country's history and by visiting and using pictures and relics of the physical monuments of the past. Clarke gives the example of an imaginary school class where the teacher would ask the question: 'Does anyone know when this school where we now are was built? Have you not seen the date in the gable?'

And there lies the nub of it: in the telling of a history that binds the White people of South Africa in a common cause of Western civilisation against the "barbarity" of Africa, Cape Dutch homesteads and their characteristic gables are held to be the exemplars *par excellence.* The writing and telling of the history of these buildings brings the story of 'the struggle of 'Western' Civilisation to establish itself in a barbarous land' into the sharpest focus. Here, the identity being promoted is that of European against African, White against Black, and should be understood as a complement to the formation of a common

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[1] [Mag]*Education Gazette*, 1919.05.15: 'Memorandum on the Teaching of History.'

English/Afrikaner identity through the symbol of Cape Dutch architecture as explored in the previous chapter.

The following chapter, then, forms an investigation into the "telling" not of the 'story of South Africa as a mission of civilisation,' but rather, an investigation into the "telling" of the story of Cape Dutch homesteads as an exemplar of this 'mission of civilization.' Of course, other building styles and types also formed part of the story that was being told, and they too have their place in this chapter. Another point to keep in mind is that the representation of these dwellings as part of the 'mission of civilisation,' can also be seen as a necessary part of the consolidation and legitimating of Empire. Furthermore, the physical manifestations of the Cape Dutch Revival style and Cape Dutch preservation movement formed a part of this "telling," complicating what could otherwise be approached as a fairly straightforward discourse analysis of the explosion of texts and representations of Cape Dutch homesteads at the first part of the twentieth century.

Graham Botha and the Popularising of Settler History

The article by Clarke referred to above, was found, annotated and with key points underlined, in one of the newspaper-cuttings scrapbooks of Colin Botha, or Graham Botha as he was commonly known, who was the first and longstanding Chief Archivist of the Union of South Africa from 1919 until 1944.[2] Botha had a remarkable impact on the popularisation of the settler history, and particularly of early Cape Town and Cape Dutch architecture. He delivered numerous public lectures, mostly accompanied by lantern-slide illustrations. He was also prolific in penning articles in local newspapers. Although actively promoting his versions of local and South African history long before the article by Clarke was written, Botha's lectures and articles, especially those of the 1920s, read almost as the exact practice of what Clarke was espousing. Whilst too numerous to recount in full,[3] it is worth pointing to a few examples and the different geographical locations and media in which he gave these talks and published articles in his campaign to disseminate knowledge of settler history and architecture.

As early as 1913, Botha was delivering slide lectures on the social and architectural history of Cape Town, the Cape Peninsula and the surrounding areas of settlement. The South African National Society (hereafter SANS) sponsored the first lecture titled 'Sketches from the Past'[4] and, along with organisations such as the Mountain Club, sponsored many subsequent evenings. This lecture covered 'all phases of [the Cape's] history – architectural, commercial and social'.[5] In keeping with the idea of the common English/Afrikaner identity pointed to in the previous chapter, Botha stressed the importance of the study of history for the development of a nation at many of his lectures:

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[2] [CAbox]A.1813 v.75: C G Botha, Newspaper Cuttings, 1918-1923.
[3] For newspaper-clipping reports of these lectures see [CAbox]A.1813, volumes 19, 53, 55, 56, 57, 75 and 118.
[4] [News]*CA* 1913.07.26: 'Sketches from the Past.'
[5] *Ibid.*

> Mr. Botha pointed out incisively the value of history to the nation, remarking that to be good citizens we must know the history of our country. Not only did it make good citizens, but it made a good, strong and healthy nation.[6]

In 1925, during an evening lecture at Stellenbosch Boy's High School dealing with the history of Stellenbosch, Botha emphasised the great importance of the study of history not only for the development of nationalistic sentiment but for furthering the civilising mission of the original settlers and the need to 'fight hard to preserve the Christian civilisation'.[7] He went on to commend:

> the movement which originated at Stellenbosch, that school children should write histories of their district, and [he] advised them to find out the history of different old farms. In that way they could understand the life of the people who lived before then, and they would realise how important it was that they should live like them and be looked upon with the same respect by those who would live after them. He urged that everything possible should be done to preserve the fine old homesteads and monuments of the early days of Stellenbosch. He also emphasised the importance of studying town planning, whereby a healthy standard of life could be obtained.

Although Botha's slide-shows (and especially newspaper articles intended to appeal to young readers) were often simply popular histories of the Cape and South Africa, in which Cape Dutch architecture was frequently an integral part of the stories told. His dedication to their preservation was well noted[8] and he had been delivering lectures specifically on the subject of Cape Dutch architecture with much emphasis given to promoting their preservation.[9] That this preservation spirit was rooted in a nationalist belief is without doubt and is evident in Botha's own words: 'We will find that South Africa has a number of monuments many of which are not only worthy of preservation, but, from a national standpoint, should be preserved'.[10] Later in the same article, the idea that preservation was an important aspect in the battle of "civilisation" against "barbarians" was also fundamental to his views as they 'record the scenes of early struggles between civilisation and barbarism'. Even though Botha sometimes included the history of Others in his talks or articles, occasionally even commending the craftsmanship of slaves,[11] they were often enough tinged with the racism endemic to the time and pictured a world of other races who were either 'picturesque' or 'ugly':

> Like to-day, [Cape Town] was a cosmopolitan town and in certain quarters gave an Eastern appearance. Every shade of colour could be seen amongst the inhabitants, from the fairest to the blackest. The Mozambiquers, blacker than Erebus, with faces all knobs and corners, were ugly. The Malay women, dressed in bright colours, were handsome. The Malay Hadjes with flowing robes and turbans of various bright hues, and the Malay hawker with broad rimmed hat and pointed

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[6] [News]*CA* 1921.09.22: 'History Lessons.'
[7] [News]*CT* 1925.03.12: 'Stellenbosch in the Early Days.'
[8] [News]*The Cape* 1916.09.16: 'The New Diary of Samuel Pepys.'
[9] [News]*Diamond Fields Advertiser* 1925.07.18: 'South Africa in 18th Century.'
[10] [Mag]*South African Railways and Harbours Magazine*, (December, 1927): 'Some Early Landmarks of the Cape.'
[11] See for example: [News]*CT* 1916.08.25: 'Some Historical Landmarks of the Cape;' [News]*CT* 1925.03.12: 'Stellenbosch in the Early Days;' and [News]*Graaff-Reinet Advertiser*, 1927.02.25: lecture given through the Graaff-Reinet Publicity Association.

> straw hat, carrying his wares in baskets hanging from a stick across his shoulder, added to the picturesqueness of Cape Town life.[12]

Although his lectures in the 1910s were limited to Cape Town and its suburbs, by the 1920s he was extending his reach as far as Kimberley,[13] Graaff-Reinet[14] and London.[15] That Botha made extensive use of slides has been noted. He also used radio broadcasting as early as 1927[16] as part of a propaganda campaign promoting Western civilisation in South Africa and was transmitting lectures on 'South African History' to school children as part of a school radio series.[17] By 1933 his audience was reported to have been more than 20,000 people.[18] That Botha's lectures were well received and sought after is fairly certain: Botha himself wrote of one lecture, 'had a splendid appreciative audience last night'[19] whilst a weekly article covering radio-broadcasting reported that 'our listeners want more talks but they all add "Like Graham Botha"'.[20]

Markers of Civilisation and "Great" Men

Throughout the period of study and in a variety of different sources, Cape Town and its first settlers and their Cape Dutch homesteads were explicitly represented as the first instances and embodiment of "civilisation" in Southern Africa. Within the somewhat tangled metaphors and metonymy used, the city, the region's settlers and their dwellings were often represented as conceptually inseparable symbols of civilisation. Obviously, Cape Dutch homesteads were seen as part of the larger presence of historical edifices that were venerated as markers of the culture of Western civilisation. Although, for the purposes of this chapter it is important to remain focused on Cape Dutch homesteads, it seems appropriate to introduce the ideas explored below through a report made by the *Cape Times* in 1924 on the 'sympathetic restoration work' done by James Morris on the Castle, the pentangle Dutch settlement-fort. Although not the original wattle-and-daub structure erected by the first Governor of the Cape, Jan van Riebeeck, it seems important to explore its general acknowledgement as one of the earliest, if not the first, monumental manifestations of "civilisation" in South Africa. The article admonishes South Africa's citizens to consider the Castle as more than the military quarter it had been used as and recognise that:

> Each arch and gateway, indeed, is redolent of the past, and form a memorial to the advancement of civilisation and culture in this country [...] Thus began the cradle, so to speak, of the South African nation. It was here that civilisation set its early mark upon the country; from here originated all that progress and accompanying prosperity that stamps South Africa to-day. The old pioneers have passed away, but their shadows, the memories of the past, still lurk between the grand old walls,

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[12] [News]*Cape Times Annual* 1932: 'Life in Old Cape Town'
[13] [News]*Diamond Fields Advertiser* 1925.07.18: 'South Africa in 18th Century.'
[14] [News]*CT* 1927.03.07: lecture given through the Graaff-Reinet Publicity Association.
[15] [News]*CT* 1921.02.14: 'Lecture by Mr. Graham Botha.'
[16] [News]*CA* 1927.11.05: 'Studio Notes.'
[17] [News]*CA* 1930.03.22: 'South African History.'
[18] [News]*CT* 1933.09.29: 'Who's who in Broadcasting.'
[19] Hand written note in [CAbox]A1813 v.118: C G Botha, Newspaper Cuttings – [News]*CA* 1917.09.26: 'Early History of the Cape in Pictures.'
[20] [News]*CA* 1928.08.04: 'Radioshow.'

> which stand to-day erect and dominant after an existence of two and a half centuries.[21]

Here, then, is the symbolic combination of building and settler, the one as physical entity manifesting an inhabited presence by the other as memory or shadow; the past is in the present. But the past in the present is also prompted by the sentence 'from here originated all that progress and accompanying prosperity that stamps South Africa to-day'. Not only does one understand "civilisation" to have originated geographically at the Castle, but the Castle, as symbolic manifestation of 'civilisation and culture,' radiates through the ages into the present South Africa. Indeed, after 'two and a half centuries' the physical manifestation of European civilisation and culture still is 'dominant', the Castle is clearly an important legitimising element in the arsenal of the continued colonisation and domination of indigenous peoples in 1924 as it was originally. Preservation and visits (by White citizens) can be considered a re-inscription of the colonial project from the past into the present. A final phrase to be noted in the text is the combination of 'civilisation and culture.' At the heart of the representations of the original settlement of the Cape is the notion that the settlers were part of a highly cultured European tradition. It is not just that, for example, settlers brought with them firearms and tools, or built "permanent" houses and built roads and bridges, but that they brought with them a way of life that was "noble" and consequently carried great aesthetic import. This theme of nobility and aesthetic refinement gets picked up in a section later in this chapter.

Before considering Cape Dutch homesteads, it is also important to explore the role that representations of Cape Town as a city played in the battle for possession of the land. Jeremy Foster has pointed out the South-North inversion that operated in establishing Cape Town as a European entry point through which the rest of Africa could be conquered and colonised northwards.[22] In many different texts ranging from tourist guidebooks to public history lectures, numerous references are made to Cape Town as the entry point for civilisation into Africa. Lewis Mansergh, the Public Works Department Secretary, used the metaphor of Cape Town being a source of light to the rest of the continent when he gave a public lecture on the history of Old Cape Town: 'From Cape Town radiates the whole history of the civilisation of the Southern Continent, of the whole Union, and beyond. The facts of the origin and foundation of the Town are therefore of interest to us all. They are matters in which we can all take pride and pleasure equally as we do to-day in the advancement and progress of the modern town.'[23] In Mansergh's statement it is apparent that civilisation not only radiates geographically from Cape Town, but historically too; the advances of the past are the fuel and legitimacy for the advances of the present 'modern' town.

Cape Town was also represented as a "gateway" that filtered, focused and charged the spread of civilisation through it. Consider the Mayor of Cape Town, R.J. Verster's

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[21] [News]*CT* 1924.02.08: 'Great Asset to The State.'
[22] Foster, J., 'Landscape Phenomenology and the Imagination of a New South Africa on Parktown North' in *African Studies*, v.55, n.2, (96).
[23] [News]*CT* 1916.08.14: 'The Tavern of the Sea.'

welcome speech on the event of the arrival in Cape Town of Edward, the Prince of Wales in 1925:

> You have, Sir, followed the ocean track along which our forefathers came from England, the Netherlands, and the pleasant fields of France, and the hearts of the people go out to Your Royal Highness in rejoicing to-day on your landing on the shores of our beloved country at this the gateway of the Union of South Africa. Our city was the first corner stone to be laid on the edifice of civilisation which has been raised in this vast land. From it and through it have passed the influences which have tamed the wilderness to man's use and have brought barbarism itself within the folds of civilisation.[24]

It seems less than anecdotal to record that during this official visit the Prince was taken on a few days' tour of Groot Constantia, and then the Cape Dutch rich regions of Somerset West, Stellenbosch and Paarl. It also seems fairly reasonable to assume that this was a tour that would have illustrated exactly how the 'wilderness' was 'tamed' and how 'barbarism itself' was brought 'within the folds of civilisation.' This continuous reference to the establishment of civilisation in Africa carried through to tour programmes in general. In the official 1909 Council guide to Cape Town, Lord Curzon is quoted as stating: 'You have what is fitting in the City whence civilisation has radiated in South Africa, the City richest in Historical associations.'[25] That the guide is heavy in its illustration and histories of Cape Dutch homesteads motivates the idea that, right from the start, the promotion of Cape Dutch buildings of Cape Town as part of the tourism industry, was linked to idea of the spread of "civilisation."

Many authors, rather than locate the establishment of civilisation with Jan van Riebeeck and the Castle, tended to promote Simon van der Stel as a figurehead for the establishment of Western civilisation in South Africa. This was largely due to the understanding at the time that Van der Stel epitomised a cultured gentleman who had actively sought to have the Cape colonised and settled with a European culture. This was in contradistinction to Van Riebeeck, who was understood to be more of an administrator holding together a fort in a wild land at the command of absent board members in Holland. That civilisation and European culture were necessarily understood to be one in the same thing is most likely the basis of these judgements. For example, A. Allen, in an address on town planning given to the Benoni Rotary Club in the Transvaal, considered the 'beginning of civilisation in South Africa'[26] to have started with the arrival of Van der Stel. Allen, keen on promoting the town planning agenda, represented Van der Stel as the first town planner in South Africa and paid no little praise for his aesthetic considerations. What amounted to a cult of "great men" was certainly focused on the Governor Simon van der Stel, and his son, Willem Adriaan, who succeeded him. This was a dominant element of such books as Alys Trotter's *Old Cape Colony*. Although not specifically architecturally focused, these books did lay great credence to the aesthetic vision of these two men, often missing their more prosaic

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[24] [CCC]Mayor's Minute, 11th September, 1925, p.5.
[25] Finch, J. R., *The Cape of Good Hope*, p. 6-7.
[26] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.16, n.62 (June, 1931), p.101.

and rapacious attitude to the Cape and its people. This tendency to aestheticise all of the Van der Stel's influence on the built environment is exemplified by the following sentence in Trotter's book: 'All the poetry and interest of the Cape Peninsula, and much of the country further afield, is identified with the Van der Stels. They had a genius and passion for making beautiful places to live in - dwellings of grave and quiet beauty nestling amongst trees.'[27] That Simon van der Stel had planted oak trees to provide raw materials for the emerging agricultural and other industries was a fact often overlooked or wilfully ignored. Dorothea Fairbridge, under the impression that Simon van der Stel had constructed Groot Constantia as it was seen in her day, considered it to be a material symbol of the establishment of civilisation in South Africa at the time of Van der Stel's government:

> Between this primitive fort and the house built by Simon van der Stel at Constantia some thirty years or so later lies a world of brave endurance and hardship overcome - Groot Constantia is a landmark, and from it we may reckon the starting-point of South African architecture.[28]

Here, the "great man" and the "great building" are conflated, each representing the other. European "high" culture, as represented through Groot Constantia as the 'starting-point of South African architecture,' is present in Africa. The understanding that the "great man" was represented by the material object is captured in the following sentence by J.R. Finch in the official Cape Town City guide: 'The Cape has no statue to Simon van der Stel (more's the pity), but in Constantia – or in Stellenbosch – one may well say, *si monumentum requiris, circumspice*.'[29] The phrase suggests that Stellenbosch or Groot Constantia is Van der Stel's St Paul's, and at the same time claims parity between Van der Stel and Wren.[30]

Artefacts and furniture of the Cape Dutch homesteads also played a part in the establishment in the mythology of civilisation. Consider, for example, an article on Groot Constantia penned by the 'Argus Art Critic' in which the artefacts of the house are listed and then juxtaposed against the idea of the 'barbarous' land where such items were absent: 'One glance at these heavy chairs, teak cupboards, kists, bedsteads and all the solid comfort that is expressed in wood, reveals much of the character of those civilised Dutch who entered a barbarous land.'[31] These possessions of the Self were recognised as important elements in the signification of civilisation. Although the arrival of an important cultured person or the identification of a significant single building tended to be the focus of discourse around Cape Dutch architecture and civilisation, occasionally the focus shifted to include the settler at the frontier and their simpler artefacts, perhaps to reinforce the association the English middle class of Cape Town were intended to have with the original settlers.

As President of the CIA, Charles Walgate delivered a lecture titled 'Architecture of the Cape,' which was broadcast through the African Broadcasting Corporation on the 30th

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[27] Trotter, A. F., *Old Cape Colony. A Chronicle of Her Men and Houses from 1652 to 1806*, (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1903), p.45.
[28] Fairbridge, D., *The Historic Houses of South Africa*, p.11.
[29] Finch, J. R., *The Cape of Good Hope*, p.100.
[30] Dr Iain Borden has pointed out that this phrase, 'If you seek my monument, look around you,' is a copy of a dedication to Wren in St Paul's Cathedral in London.

September 1935. Walgate sought to impress upon his audience the importance of preserving the Cape Dutch homesteads precisely because they showed where 'settlers pushed civilisation'.[32] Similarly, Graham Botha in an article titled 'Historical Homesteads of the Cape' made no bones about revering the original settlers who

> laid out their farms, planted vineyards and orchards, and tilled the soil, and it was from here that the banner of civilisation first was carried out into the Beyond. In delightful and well-chosen spots these original founders of our South African nation built their homes and furnished them with taste. Some of their homesteads, fortunately, have been spared to us, and to-day attract sightseers from overseas as well as from within our own borders.[33]

Cape Dutch homesteads were thus represented as important buildings to be visited; they were markers in the landscape, embodying and illustrating the march of civilisation across the "barbarous" lands. Time and again, then, the Cape Dutch homestead is represented as a cipher for civilisation; preservation of the buildings is tantamount to the preservation of civilisation itself. A loss of the dwellings is the very threat of the loss of Self. The metaphor of Cape Town as radiating civilisation is one that involves both time and place, or history and geography: the further away from the source the less powerful the signal, yet with the passing of time the more powerful the source signal becomes. Cape Dutch homesteads are represented in a similar manner and radiate their own civilisation out into the wilds. That the kinds of picturesque and *gabled* homesteads being revered by Walgate, Botha and others, were in fact geographically and historically a very limited segment of settler dwellings, was a finer point lost to the propaganda effort.[34]

"Civilised European Races," and their "Superlative" Architects and Architecture

A less explicit part of the representation of "culture as civilisation" can be found in the way the European settlers at the Cape were represented as being part of "highly civilised" European races. As part of the lecture series organised by the South African National Society (hereafter SANS), Frank Kendall made the connection between the Cape Dutch style and Western civilisation unequivocal: 'Thus a style in architecture may be described as a concrete expression of national character. With the early settlers in South Africa came the best western civilisation of their day, as, in addition to the Dutch, there were French and German settlers of good family, who had a refining influence on the community at large.'[35] In other words, if Cape Dutch architecture came from "fine" and cultured people, then it in itself was "fine" due to the "natural" transposition of qualities of the nation to the building.

Kendall was not alone in disseminating these ideas. Graham Botha had made the case many years before at a lecture given in London as part of the Royal Colonial Institute

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[31] [News]*CA* 1928.05.19: 'The House that Nobody Visits.'
[32] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.19, n.2, (September, 1935), p.7.
[33] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.21, n.2, (September 1937), p.12-13.
[34] See Hall, M., 'The Secret Lives of Houses: Women and Gables in the Eighteenth-Century Cape' in *Social Dynamics*, v.20, n.n.1, (94); although James Walton did change the focus to the un-gabled vernacular, see Walton, J., *Homesteads and Villages of South Africa*, (Pretoria: J.L. Van Scaik Ltd., 1952).
[35] [News]*CT* 1913.09.03: 'Colonial Dutch Architecture.'

series, that the original settlers were of the best order and the conditions there had brought out latent qualities of the highest order: 'One thing, in conclusion, the lecturer made clear: that the peopling of South Africa had brought out the best elements in half-a-dozen highly civilised European races, and that their efforts had been backed by the labour of native races of exceptional virility and power.'[36] We have seen how Kendall and Botha were often using History, especially that related to the early settlers and their dwellings, as part of what amounted to a propaganda campaign promoting a connection to Western civilisation, and it is clear that this also translated into what amounted to a rationalisation of the possession of the land. But this valorising of the past through Cape Dutch homesteads was not limited to these two characters. Consider the following newspaper report on the Oranjezicht homestead in which the author is thankful that the built environment has not encroached on the dwelling because its isolation in space makes it easier to project oneself back to when it was 'noble home where men and women of dignity and culture had brought what they could of the civilisation of Europe to the sheltered vale behind the 'Cape of Storms' and where they dispensed hospitality, lavishly'.[37]

One of the strongly motivated phenomena in the production of discourse on Cape Dutch architecture and early settler history is the desire and search to attribute the buildings to specific individuals, in other words, the architects and "noble" men who designed them. As history would have it, there are very few records of who the individual designers may have been; the desire for origins and authors, produced within the discourse much speculation, and, when found, a cult of the individual. That the buildings were produced by slaves, or in a more vernacular process common to European farmers, or were modelled after pattern books that had been making an appearance in Europe at that time, are all plausible explanations for the lack of knowledge of architects or the originators of the designs. It is not my intention to attempt to prove or disprove the attribution of buildings to specific individuals but rather to document the desire for architectural pedigree originating in Europe, and with pedigree, legitimacy and valorisation of the Self and the processes of colonisation and Empire.

In much of the writing on Cape Dutch architecture an almost holy trinity of characters is identified as being of great importance. Lewis Mansergh, in a lecture on the history of old Cape Town, gives us the most succinct introduction to this trio:

> Most of the best of the characteristic architectural work we owe to three men – Anton Anreith, a sculptor in the service of the East India Company; Thibault, first lieutenant of Engineers, later Director of Public Works of the settlement; and Schutte, an architect by profession – who worked together for a long period towards the close of the 18th and beginnings of the 19th century.[38]

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[36] [News]*CT* 1921.02.14: 'Lecture by Mr. Graham Botha.'
[37] [News]*CT* 1923.03.[20]: 'The Home of the Van Bredas.'
[38] [News]*CT* 1916.08.14: 'The Tavern of the Sea.'

That Thibault and his compatriots contributed little to the typical Cape Dutch homestead as it was revered in much of the discourse at the time, was of little importance to the authors who were happy to locate the buildings within the sureties of a "noble" and "civilised" European profession by association with these characters. Dorothea Fairbridge called Thibault 'the greatest Cape architect of the past.'[39] Much was made of Thibault's design of the wine cellar at Groot Constantia (Figure 1.13) and Anreith's probable working of its relief pediment

2.1 Groot Constantia wine cellar pediment, attributed to Anton Anreith. Source: *Groot Constantia Catalogue*.

(Figure 2.1), but their contribution to the architecture of the Cape was typically more urban than rural, more neo-classical than baroque, and, in Thibault's case, more civic than domestic.[40] That reverence for these men, particularly for Thibault and Anreith, was actively promoted by many, is illustrated through a few examples. The *Cape Times* Christmas Number of 1906 featured a five-page article on Anreith with many line drawings of his work.[41] The cult of the personality was so dominant that Graham Botha, in an article titled 'Thibault, An Early Cape Architect,' lamented the lack of a portrait painting of Thibault and then suggested that it is 'more than probable that one was made'[42] and wished it could be found. A double page spread of Thibault's original drawings for the Old Supreme Court building appeared in the same edition of the *AB&E*. Less than two years later another article on Thibault written by Botha appeared in the *AB&E*, this time with a far more extensive set of images of work attributed to him.[43]

Even when realising that certain buildings or sculptured pediments could not be attributed directly to an individual, the authors of articles would go ahead and define it so anyway. For example consider the editorial comment in the *AB&E* that clearly states that a lot of work attributed to the sculptor Anton Anreith was never worked by him but goes on to say, 'still it is true to say that the craftsmanship is good enough to warrant the attribution'.[44] That the work may have been done by a slave is excluded by the casual attitude that saw anything of a particular standard as necessarily European, as signified through the cult of an

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[39] Fairbridge, D., *The Historic Houses of South Africa*, p.21.
[40] De Puyfontaine, H. R., *Louis Michel Thibault*, (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1972)
[41] [News]*CT* The Cape Times Xmas Number 1906: 'Anthon Anreith,' by Rip van Winkle.
[42] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.6, n.3, (October, 1922), p.3.
[43] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.7, n.11, (June, 1924), p.7.
[44] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.17, n.11, (June, 1934), p.3.

individual. In the world of architectural discourse production, buildings are attributed to the genius of "the architect" as if the design and construction was solely by their hand.

This wilful ignorance of other involvement in the architecture at the Cape and the cult of the individual translated itself into the writings of Frank Kendall. In his book documenting the restoration of Groot Constantia wherein he revealed its mistaken attribution to Van der Stel, he happily writes:

> It is also recorded that, assisted by Anton Anreith, [Thibault] was responsible for the famous pediment of the fine Wine Cellar at Groot Constantia (1791), and what could be more natural than to suppose that Thibault had charge of the extensive alterations to the Manor House, which we now know to have taken place?[45]

It was occasionally pointed out that Thibault had presented Louis XVI with a new architectural Order, and that he had been a pupil of A.J. Gabriel who was 'Architect-in-Chief to the King and Director of the Academy in the Royal Academy of Architecture in Paris in 1775.'[46] These references were no minor anecdotes, but were part of the general desire to locate Cape Dutch architecture within a larger and grander architectural tradition. This need to identify with Europe, or at least to extol the high quality of its architectural objects, was also highly significant. In the Foreword to Dorothea Fairbridge's *Historic Houses of South Africa*, J.C. Smuts introduced the book with the following sentences:

> Neither in Music nor in Literature nor in Painting nor in Sculpture have we anything yet to compare with the performance of older countries. The one exception is our domestic architecture, and there our production is of a unique character. I believe it was Ruskin who said that the only real contribution to Architecture for the last few centuries has been made by the Dutch in South Africa - or something to that effect.[47]

Smuts considers one of the purposes of the books to be

> to carry across the seas something of the spirit of South Africa, so that our sister nations may know the beauty that lies in her old homesteads and the charm that lingers in her vine-covered *stoeps* and in the villages set in orchards.[48]

That the 'sister nations' were part of the colonies and dominions of the Empire is a fairly obvious assumption to make. The book would act as an emissary, establishing South Africa's credentials through its architectural objects and their association with European culture.

Some of the discourse around Cape Dutch architecture represented it as not only unique, but also located within the lineage of either Baroque or Renaissance architecture. Of course, any architect at the time, except perhaps for the emerging socially oriented modernists, would have been grappling with the vagaries of style, whatever the building

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[45] Kendall, F. K., *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*, p.20.
[46] Pearse, G. E., *Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa*, p.29.
[47] Fairbridge, D., *The Historic Houses of South Africa*, p.ix.
[48] *Ibid.*, p.xi.

subject or project. This was not an unusual activity in itself, and was perhaps the modus operandi of any historian. However, when read against the struggle to establish a White South African identity and South Africa as Europe in the "wilds" of "barbarous" Africa, one should take care not to dismiss even this seemingly average activity as of minor significance. Consider again the 1935 radio broadcast of Charles Walgate, President of the CIA at the time, titled 'Architecture of the Cape':

> [A]lmost every listener must be familiar with the placid and dignified old buildings that grace the towns and countryside of the Cape. Built during the 17th and 18th century, they stand as monuments to the energy and imagination of the Dutch and French settlers who created them. They are a late flowering of the Renaissance, which in Europe at that time had already wilted. Viewed in perspective, looking backwards through the19th century with its Neo-this and pseudo-that, they stand as representatives of the last great historic style of architecture.[49]

He immediately goes on to marvel 'how they came to be built by people who were struggling against savage neighbours [...] is a mystery'.[50] The point being made is not that these buildings were or were not Renaissance buildings, but that they were built at all. In other words, European civilisation, as represented through a style of architecture, is being purposefully pointed to as being present in the wilds of Africa; the right to possession of the land is given in the manifestation of Europe in Africa through European buildings.

Identifying the landscape as European, "Mediterranean" or belonging to Ancient mythology was another aspect of this projecting the buildings into a more familiar landscape whilst locating them as part of a European tradition. The Editor of the *Cape Times*, in the Foreword to Alys Trotter's essay on 'Old Cape Homesteads,' suggests that:

> The Cape landscape without its white embowered farms would be like the Campagna without its temples and its aqueducts. It is one of the few regions of South Africa where man has done much to help out picturesque nature.[51]

Whilst Professor Snape, in a lecture to the Cape architectural students impressed upon them that:

> We belong to a young country and the blood of our young men must be stirred by ideals, and especially those who are training to serve the arts. Is it too much to expect that in this land, so similar in many respects to the fair land of Greece, we shall raise a national culture to our ideals, and that in architecture especially we shall raise the standard of endeavour and of achievement in conformity with the majestic and rugged beauty which surrounds us as Nature's girdle?[52]

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the call for a national style in architecture was high. To paraphrase Snape's sentiment at the time: achieving an architectural greatness and national style as the much valorised Ancient Greeks did, is the ideal to which students

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[49] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.19, n.2, (September, 1935), p.7.
[50] *Ibid.*,
[51] [News]*Cape Times - Christmas Number*, December, 1898: 'Old Cape Homesteads.'
[52] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.6, n.4, (November 1922) p.17-19.

should aspire, because the landscape of the Cape is almost Greece. In fact, one could go so far as to say that Africa is often literally erased in some of the texts. Consider the following excerpt from a section on 'The Land Itself' found in Dorothea Fairbridge's *The Historic Houses of South Africa*:

> If it chances to be at sunset the white houses will gleam like pearls in the purple dusk which has gathered at the foot of Table Mountain while the summit is yet aflame. Seen from the height they are softened and made lovely, until it is no longer Cape Town on which you look but some magic city of medieaval legend, and the long ripples of the bay are the waters which lap the golden walls of lost Atlantis.[53]

Perhaps given to less romanticism, Alys Trotter saw Stellenbosch as essentially European: 'It has the usual strange fascination of those older places of South Africa, the green, cosy oak shaded oases, domestic and European, set in the heart of the dry yellow and pink mountains.'[54]

This section has shown that connections were made to Western civilisation through the following concepts and various combinations thereof: through the common people who came from "highly civilised" European "races;" through "great men" who "changed" the course of history; through the attribution of specific buildings and the whole Cape Dutch style to specific architects; through associations with "high" European styles of architecture; through particular "great" architectural buildings and products; and through descriptions of landscapes as European.

The Mud and Earth of the Vernacular

Much was made of the "fine pedigree" of Cape Dutch architecture and its originators. Yet from the very beginning, the emergent discourse valorising Cape Dutch architecture as a style identified by the gabled Cape Dutch homesteads also represented this style as also indigenous, if not thoroughly vernacular. That these buildings were literally "of the soil" was an attribute not missed by the stewards of the city. Consider, for example, Alys Trotter's article 'Old Cape Homesteads' in the *Cape Times* Christmas Number of 1898. Here she valorises what she considers to be (except for the houses of New England in the United States) the only example of a distinct 'style existing in a Colony in the New World'. She goes on to state:

> The essence of the style, then, is indigenous. It is the outcome of local conditions, therefore to be cherished by the patriotic; it is the outcome of conditions which belong to the past, therefore to be cherished as irreplaceable.[55]

Or, as Rex Martienssen somewhat obscurely and ambitiously puts it in his report on the architectural student's 'pilgrimage' to the Cape:

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[53] Fairbridge, D., *The Historic Houses of South Africa*, p.183.
[54] Trotter, A. F., *Old Cape Colony*, p.97.
[55] [News]*CT* 1998.12.25: A P Trotter, 'Old Cape Homesteads.'

> Our humble farmhouse is just as much an organic part of the earth as the Chateau at Versailles, or St. Paul's, its intrinsic beauty may be just as great.[56]

One of the possible explanations given for Cape Dutch homesteads fitting into their surroundings and hinted at in Martienssen's statement above was their use of local materials. In fact, the use of local materials was generally seen as fundamental to the development of any architecture of note – a proposition not unfamiliar to Arts & Crafts ideologues. Consider the January, 1934 editorial of the *AB&E*:

> To begin with, we know from our studies in the history of design and notably so in the case of architecture, that, broadly speaking, only those creations have distinction which grow out of the use of local materials. They must be racy of the soil before they can have style and order, whatever the stylistic manner in which they are conceived. Our Cape Flemish architecture points in this direction. It became the final flowering of the continuous Renaissance tradition because the forms in which it was couched were adapted to suit our climatic conditions and the labour and materials available.[57]

The article goes on to regret the importation and use of building elements such as galvanised iron and stock joinery, and suggests, like the builders of earlier times, that all the items necessary for building in South Africa are to be found within the country itself. For Gerard Moerdyk, the example of Cape Dutch homesteads was fundamental to directing the development of a national art and architecture. He notes how the use of local materials makes Cape Dutch homesteads un-extractable from the region in which they are found. A national art 'must grow out of the soil itself'.[58] Moerdyk goes on to state that 'it is evident that the material with which it is built must be local in order to obtain the best representation of the geographical characteristics and the soul of the nation'.[59]

Whilst the pressure to use local materials and building techniques was a characteristic of Arts & Crafts ideology, in this example it gains a greater meaning especially when linked with the idea of "nation" as Moerdyk so clearly does. The desire for geographical rootedness, when read with phrases such as 'the soul of the nation' suggest that Moerdyk at least, was awake to the potential function of the Cape Dutch homesteads as markers of territorial possession. Although it did perhaps have its impetus in the global depression of the late 1920s, it could be argued that the increasing sentiment to "buy local" and to use local building materials was not primarily economically driven, but was part of this desire to see buildings, replicating the Cape Dutch exemplars in their rootedness to place.

The promotion of local materials and their appropriateness to the locale was, however, limited in extent. Although many Cape Dutch homesteads had made use of unfired bricks and walls made of rubble and mud plaster, the promotion of local materials through the examples of Cape Dutch homesteads stopped short of promoting this particular type of

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[56] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.13, n.50, p.31.
[57] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.17, n.6, (January, 1934), p.7.
[58] Mag]*SAAR*, v.21, n.6, (June, 1936), p.192
[59] *Ibid.*

construction. The editor of the *AB&E*, whilst writing to promote the use of local materials, noted that 'our native heath would provide us with *pise da terre* and *pise craye* of excellent and bewildering variety,' goes on to suggest that 'there is no need to get down to such primitive materials and the like methods that go with their use'.[60] Clearly then 'racy of the soil'[61] was a metaphorical statement rather than a literal one.

Here: the Future in the Past / Cape Dutch as Integral to the Landscape

Along with the effort made to represent Cape Dutch architecture as indigenous, there were both subtle and less than subtle attempts to establish the status of the Cape Dutch homesteads as ancient monuments. In other words, not only being of the soil but also of the soil from pre-settler history. The homesteads thus become markers in the landscape of both historical and geographical possession of the land. Trotter speaks of Cape Dutch homesteads giving the Cape Colony 'a reliquary Past embodied in monuments'[62] whilst Dorothea Fairbridge, as part of her survey of Cape Dutch homesteads in *The Historic Houses of South Africa*, offered another poetic description:

> She is very old this South Africa - old and eternally young, with the light of the dawn in her eyes and in her heart the memories of the past. [63]

That South Africa could be simultaneously 'old and eternally young' was precisely the kind of summation that made for good Empire building. Within the logic of the paradox is the idea that the present, and the future, extend from an undeniably "natural" and thus legitimate past. Part of the process of representing Cape Dutch homesteads as timeless elements in the landscape was the use of descriptions that comment on the "naturalness" in their surroundings. They seem to "belong" as an integral part of the landscape. A case in point is an article titled 'Old Cape Craftsmanship'[64] which, whilst noting the increasing 'expansion of a truly South African national spirit' and the need to study Cape Dutch architecture and furniture to complement it, goes on to note how the Cape Dutch homesteads 'seem to fit in naturally with their surroundings,' as if they had always been there.

Another aspect of this process of rooting or possession slightly different to the material rootedness of the homesteads is through the aestheticising of the homestead in its environment. Not only do the homesteads seem to fit naturally into their environment, but the picturesque and formal qualities of both are often noted, inferring, to some degree, that the beautiful landscape of the Cape is incomplete without its complementary homestead. This idea of picturesque homology is contained in the following quote taken from Martienssen's article on the architectural student's 'pilgrimage':

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[60] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.19, n.7, (February, 1936), p.3.
[61] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.4, n.8, (March, 1921), p.15.
[62] [News]*CT* 1898.08.25: A.P. Trotter, 'Old Cape Homesteads.'
[63] Fairbridge, D., *The Historic Houses of South Africa*, p.9.
[64] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.3, n.12, (July, 1920), p.15.

> The Cape is particularly rich in fine old buildings which afford a wonderful opportunity for the study of all the attributes of beautiful buildings. We cannot ignore the surroundings, the atmosphere, the very flavour which permeates every building. In successful architecture there is a distinct sympathy, almost a mutual reflection of beauty and colour between the forms of the building and the forms of enfolding nature [...] The old farm buildings at the Cape are steeped in atmosphere. There is a glorious unity of material, of the building and the surrounding country. There is a feeling of fitness, of rightness in the whole.[65]

Representations of Cape Dutch homesteads as picturesque, combined with descriptions of their natural materials, strengthen their symbolic power as possessors of the land. Consider Pearse's description of Cape Dutch homesteads in their natural context:

> There is an indefinable charm about these delightful old houses. The texture of the plastered walls, thickly covered with layer after layer of whitewash, the rich weather-worn woodwork in the fine entrance doors and great shuttered windows, the dark velvety thatch, the attractive gables and the wonderful purple shadows on the broad wall surfaces cast by the brilliant sunshine - all this seen against a vivid and intense blue sky, with, usually, a background of mountain and forest, creates a picture essentially South African which, once seen, is rarely forgotten.[66]

Pearse is alive to the idea that the "organic" qualities of the materials used helps to 'picture' the homesteads as an integral part of the landscape.

The discourse developing around Cape Dutch architecture was not divided explicitly into those considering it to be the last place where 'the Flemish Renascence bloomed'[67] and those considering it to be a strictly vernacular development. The point is these distinctions were not stressed; the authors were quite happy to allow the two to be conflated and even occasionally pointed to Cape Dutch architecture as being a union of the two:

> The Flemish Renaissance bloomed again under our brighter skies. It was adapted to the widely different social, labour and material conditions prevailing here and it became the final and not the least pleasant manifestation of stylistic domestic vernacular architecture.[68]

The above statement is very significant in terms of the theme of "possession." In one sentence Cape Dutch homesteads are considered to be both "high" European art and local vernacular. The Cape, through the conflated high/vernacular symbol of the Cape Dutch homestead, is happily represented as being thoroughly European.

Whilst at the beginning of the twentieth century it was plausible to consider Cape Dutch architecture as being simultaneously part of a "high" European tradition and also a vernacular tradition, by the 1930s the frame of analysis had changed from one strictly motivated by surveys of style, to those attempting to explain the organic evolution of Cape Dutch architecture. A case in point is Pearse's *Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa* and this new method of investigation is laid out in the Introduction:

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[65] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.13, n.50, p.30.
[66] Pearse, G. E., *Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa*, p.18.
[67] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.17, n.11, (June, 1934), p.3.
[68] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.15, n.1, (August, 1931), p.7, 'Our Old Houses.'

> To understand and appreciate the architecture of any country it is as well to recall the conditions - historical, social, political, geological and climatic - under which it was evolved, these being important factors in the development of any architecture.[69]

A few years later, in a review of Gerard Moerdyk's *The History of Architecture*, Pearse is quite clear that the Cape Dutch style developed organically from the adaptation of an existing European style to suit local conditions:

> It was not sufficient to know how the people in Europe built in order to build in South Africa. Artists, like the architects Thibault and Schutte, and the sculptor, Anton Anreith, first had to unite their arts with the joint experience of the colonists with reference to building materials, climatic conditions, and the beauties of the surroundings, before the old Dutch architecture could be brought about.[70]

Whilst there is little evidence of explicit political motivation in Pearse's writing there is a tendency that continues throughout most writing on Cape Dutch architecture to aestheticise all elements of the homesteads. An example of this points the way to the following section. In considering slave bell-towers as architectural elements in the homesteads, Pearse states that they 'make delightful features in the general layout'.[71] This tendency to erase the presence of others from the history of Cape Dutch homesteads is the subject of the following section.

'Barbarians' & the Absence of Others

Part of the processes of the representation of possession was to link the Cape Dutch homesteads directly with the early settlement of the Cape which was represented as wild and uninhabited or dangerous and full of barbarians or savages. C.P. Walgate, in his radio broadcast lecture in 1935, expressed amazement that the Cape Dutch homesteads were built at all, given the 'savage' inhabitants of the Cape: 'How they came to be built by people who were struggling against savage neighbours, untried environment, geographical isolation, and ineffective transport, is a mystery.'[72] He goes on to marvel at how in those circumstances the Cape houses were not built as isolated fortresses but were integrated and open to the landscape with their *stoeps*, pergolas, court-yards, walled gardens, outbuildings 'and the avenue of trees gradually merging into the landscape,' as if, in the face of savagery, civilisation won over. The idea of legitimate conquest is then summed up by the statement that '[a]ll over the countryside as far as French Hoek – the limit to which the Huguenot settlers pushed civilisation – the old homesteads are cared for and constitute a national treasure, and delightful homes they have made – with the addition of a fireplace or two and a bathroom'.[73]

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[69] Pearse, G. E., *Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa*, p.1.
[70] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.21, n.6, (June, 1936), p.192
[71] Pearse, G. E., *Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa*, p.16.
[72] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.19, n.2, (September, 1935), p.7.
[73] *Ibid.*

From the very beginning, discourse on Cape Dutch architecture sought to erase the possible input of others. Herbert Baker's contribution to Alys Trotter's first book on Cape Dutch architecture contains the following sentences in its consideration of the gables: 'The Company sent workmen from Holland both to the Cape and Batavia, and it is unlikely that such artistic skill would be exhibited by the Malay slaves [...] All honour to the early Cape settlers, who, with little learning and inferior materials, so beautifully adapted the houses of their native land to the needs of their adopted country.'[74]

Groot Constantia, as the apotheosis of civilisation in South Africa, was represented as constructed without any slave input. For example, Walgate, rather than credit slaves with the carpentry and joinery of the Cape Dutch homestead, and in what seems to be a speculative leap of logic, preferred the possibility of shipbuilders being their originators: 'Probably the Triton that blows water into the swimming pool at Groot Constantia once graced a ship's bow. So I imagine that it was the handiwork of men experienced in the craft of ship-building to which we owe the freedom of line and the sturdiness of construction that characterises the early architectural carpentry and joinery of the Cape.'[75] In the same article Walgate considers the plaster modelled pediment at Groot Constantia attributed to Anreith 'would be an object of admiration in Rome or Naples'[76] whilst the unidentified 'Malay' modellers, on the other hand were found to be limited in their skill.

When the work of slaves on the production of the Cape Dutch dwellings was noted this was usually in a disparaging or self-congratulatory manner. Consider the editorial of the *AB&E* titled 'Our History' written after the fire of Groot Constantia:

> The very presence of such fine old works in our midst is an inspiration. They show how much can be accomplished with the lowest form of labour and the poorest type of materials, for most of our old Cape Homesteads were constructed by slaves and built out of mud bricks [...] even from an historic point of view a nation's story may be enshrined in buildings constructed by poor workmen out of poor materials and yet be so wrought into pleasantness as to remain memorials for a great period of time of events that are, perhaps, more fitly recorded in architectural form than in any other way; for architecture is on the one hand fossilised history.[77]

Not all discourse on Cape Dutch architecture was positive and lavish in its praise. In one of the few disparaging articles written on the Cape Dutch revival – summed up as 'much ill-directed enthusiasm towards local manifestations of the Flemish Renaissance' – the clue to the negative judgement is perhaps found. Although praising the use of local materials the unsigned author goes on to lament finding 'half tones, half doors, half windows, half shutters and half heartedness, for the work is the work of slaves.'[78] The text invites the reader to complete the rhythm of "halfs" and to fill in the status of the slaves as half-caste or half-human, whilst giving this identity of slave-hood as the reason for the buildings not being in the 'grand manner.'

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[74] Trotter, A. F. and Baker, H., *Old Colonial Houses of the Cape of Good Hope*, p.6.
[75] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.19, n.2, (September, 1935), p.8.
[76] *Ibid.*, p.7.
[77] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.9, n.6, (January 1926), p.1.
[78] [Mag]*AA*, v.3, n.1.

There were, however, individuals and occasions where the role slaves played in establishing the heritage that was being lauded was acknowledged. Graham Botha seemed to have been unambiguously positive in a lecture titled 'Eighteenth Century South Africa' in Kimberly in 1925 stated that 'Much furniture was made by the slaves, many of whom were good craftsmen'.[79] Couched within the positive overtures to include Others in the production of the heritage being celebrated is a distinct "Orientalism."[80] J.M. Solomon suggested that Cape Dutch architecture developed from a linking of 'the Western civilisation of Europe and the dreamy East,'[81] and pointed to the evidence of 'a curious blending of East and West' in the fine joinery in the homes. By the mid-1930s there were people actively seeking to re-inscribe the input Others had on Cape Dutch architecture albeit within the spirit of "Orientalism." At the 1936 annual meeting of the SANS, Fred Glennie made the point of commenting that 'the influence of the east upon Cape architecture was not sufficiently recognised'[82] although it should be noted that his attempt to rectify this was to suggest that the curvilinear scrollwork of the gables was distinctly 'Malay' in character. And finally Dorothea Fairbridge, in reference to the plasterwork being undertaken at the time in the buildings of the Cape commented that:

> Up to recent years the Malays of Cape Town – the descendants of the seventeenth-century slaves and political exiles from East – held the masonry craft in their hands and worked with the sense of line handed down to them by their forefathers.[83]

One of the profound characteristics of histories dealing with Cape Dutch architecture and the settler history of the Cape in general is the lack of acknowledgement of slaves as an integral part of the homesteads. Trotter's book on the history of the *Old Cape Colony* records how Simon Van der Stel 'toiled' to build Groot Constantia but avoids mentioning any part slaves may have played in this.[84] Whilst a few years earlier she commented in the *Cape Times* article that 'slavery at that early time was, on paper, a comparatively mild affair'.[85] This amnesia regarding the existence of slavery and the diminishing of the role slaves played in the development of the colony can be illustrated by the debate in the mid-1920s concerning the planned demolition of the Old Supreme Court. In a letter to the editor of the *Cape Times* signed by, amongst others, Frank Kendall, Dorothea Fairbridge, and James Morris, the case was put forward for its preservation because it is 'as old a link with the past of European South Africa as the castle itself'.[86] Whilst acknowledging its original use as a slave lodge, it is the 'pillared hall, with its fine blunt oval ceiling' designed by 'the great architect, Thibault in 1815' that their preservation protest hinges on. In the same article of collected letters on the

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[79] [News]*Diamond Fields Advertiser*: 'South Africa in 18th Century,' 1925.07.18.
[80] Said, E. W., *Orientalism*
[81] [News]*Transvaal Leader* 1914.02.23: 'Architecture in South Africa.'
[82] [News]*CT* 1936.06.18: '"Modern" Influence in Building.'
[83] Fairbridge, D., *The Historic Houses of South Africa*, p.20.
[84] Trotter, A. F., *Old Cape Colony*, p.55.
[85] [News]*CT* 1898.08.25: A.P. Trotter, 'Old Cape Homesteads.'
[86] [News]*CT* 1924.10.01: 'The Old Supreme Court.'

issue, an individual signed 'Ratepayer' suggests wilfully erasing slave history from the history of the Cape:

> We, as a people, are, I think, ashamed of the slave trade, so why perpetuate its memory in the present building which is not either truly old or historical, but only the site is? The building itself, no doubt built by slaves, is a rat-infested, dirty, uncomfortable old place, and should be pulled down entirely, leaving a big open space to be incorporated in the grounds of the Houses of Parliament. [87]

In one of the few articles approaching the denser parts of Old Cape Town in a positive manner, the reader is invited to 'Reconstruct the Past'[88] by imagining the area and its houses before they became known as the Malay Quarter; in other words, in the mythologized halcyon time of the Cape Dutch. What is apparent in the description is that the mental removal of the visual unpleasantness of the lived space of Otherness must necessarily take place as part of this reconstruction: 'It is easy to imagine how this tawdry but picturesque terrace must have looked. Remove the wash line with its unashamed burden, take away the fowls and their coops, fill the fountain with water, and you have gone one step towards reconstruction.'[89] As if this erasing wasn't enough the reader is led to imagine a slave making 'the brick paving glisten with cleanliness,' and 'Abdol the Malay gardener' tending the garden; the aesthetic reconstruction of the past puts everyone back in their "proper" racially determined social roles.

Slave history was expunged in many other ways. For example, on the 15th June 1917, Kendall gave a lecture to the Wellington High School student entitled 'Dutch Colonial Architecture' for which he used slides loaned from SANS.[90] The report that covered the event carries line drawings of gables in Amsterdam and the Cape Dutch homesteads of Nooitgedacht, Cloetdale, Groot Constantia, Rhone, as well as the slave bell-tower at the Cape Dutch homestead Elsenburg, although this was simply labelled "Elsenburg Bell." Given the good aesthetic company the drawing of the bell was with, it is also possible to interpret this omission as part of the general myopia that saw so much of the Cape Dutch world as objects of beauty without acknowledging its social context. However, given Kendall's dedication to promoting the heritage of the nation, the omission seems to be part of the general purposeful amnesia concerning those unwholesome elements of the past that had been an integral part of the "progress and prosperity" that the country was enjoying. This problematic use of images and captions brings us to the next section which explores the visual material generated by the discourse around Cape Dutch architecture in general and Cape Dutch homesteads in particular.

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[87] *Ibid.*
[88] [News]*CT* 1926.06.19: 'Courtyards of the Cape.'
[89] *Ibid.*
[90] [CAbox] A.1414 v.44(1): F.K. Kendall – collected personal notes and lectures.

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2.2 F. Kendall, Bell Tower, Boschendal, 1934. Source [UCTbox]BC206, 145.

Image removed due to third party copyright

2.3 Frank Kendall, Sketch design for the bell memorial at Coleraine, Western Cape. Source: [UCTimage]BC206, 429.

Architectural Fetishism, Disembodied Images, and 'Beauty'

If there is one word that is ubiquitous throughout the discourse on Cape Dutch architecture and Cape Dutch homesteads it is "beauty." It seemed that no one could speak highly enough of the visual delight that the homesteads were seen to deliver. J.M. Solomon, in his lecture on 'Architecture in South Africa,' suggested to his audience that they 'have much to be proud of in the simple beauty and exquisite style of the old Cape homesteads'.[91] This predilection for the aesthetics of the visual shows itself in the evident tendency to aestheticise and fetishise all aspects of Cape Dutch homesteads, including slave bell-towers, which are only included in the discourse when pointed to as aesthetic objects. Solomon gives a prime example of this in his lecture when he says 'The labourers were called from their toil by a bell hung in a beautiful belcote'.[92] That slaves are called 'labourers' and that the bell was hung in a 'beautiful belcote' illustrate the seemingly intentional ignorance of the less savoury aspects of the settler history that was somewhat assisted through the fetishising of architectural elements.

This fetishising of slave bell-towers extended into the contemporary landscape that was under construction in the twentieth century. Consider, for example, the case of Appleyard, the Manager of Rhodes Fruit Farms, who commissioned Kendall to design two new slave bell-towers at the Cape Dutch homesteads of Good Hope and Bien Donne.[93] In a letter to Pearse in 1924, Kendall was happy to report that the manager was 'moved with the laudable idea of putting up an attractive Bell Tower on each of the Rhodes Farms which

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[91] [News]*Transvaal Leader* 1914.02.23: 'Architecture in South Africa.'
[92] Ibid.
[93] [UCTbox]BC206, 145: 1924.07.28, Letter from Kendall to Pearse.

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2.4 Trotter's sketch in her and Baker's *Old Colonial Houses of the Cape of Good Hope.*

Image removed due to third party copyright

2.5 Baker's sketch in his and Trotter's *Old Colonial Houses of the Cape of Good Hope.*

has not already got one'.[94] Some ten years later Appleyard commissioned Pearse to design a new slave bell-tower for the homestead of Rhone.[95] Another followed for Boschendal (Figure 2.2). Whilst a similar type of bell-tower had occasionally been used for churches in the original settler landscape at the Cape, these examples show a purposeful "completing" of the homesteads was undertaken to restore them to their iconic ideal.

There is also evidence to suggest that Walgate had collaborated with Baker in designing a bell-tower for the new Noordhoek residence of the Administrator of Rhodesia, Drummond Chaplin.[96] As late in his career as 1930, Baker was himself contemplating including a slave bell-tower in his design for the house of mining-magnate Wallace Mein in California.[97] The Cape Dutch slave bell-tower as a typology was even used by Mrs Kirby as a memorial to her son at Coleraine near Kirkwood in the Cape Province,[98] (Figure 2.3). Designed by Kendall in 1937, at the request of Kirby's mother and friends, the irony of using a slave bell-tower as memorial (given the wilful amnesia of Kendall and others with regards to slave history in general), should not be lost on the reader.

There were other ways in which slave history was trivialised. In the prolific amount of images generated through the discourse on Cape Dutch homesteads, it is a rare event to come across a photograph or drawing of a slave-bell, and when these are found, the caption usually denies any reference to it being an instrument of slavery. Slave history is literally framed out of the picture of images of the Cape Dutch homestead. What is in the picture is the main dwelling: the other buildings making up the homestead along with slave-bells – barns, wine-cellars, slave-lodges, manager's dwellings – are generally ignored.

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[94] *Ibid.*
[95] [UCTbox]BC206, 145: 1934.07.25, Letter from Pearse to Kendall.
[96] [UCTbox]BC206, 41: 1930.03.10, Letter from Kendall to Wallace Mein.
[97] [UCTbox]BC206, 41: 1930.03.08, Letter from Wallace Mein to Kendall.
[98] [UCTimage]BC206, 429.

Image removed due to third party copyright

2.6 C.P. Walgate illustration of Vergelegen's past. Source: [Mag]*SAAR*, December, 1926.

This myopic focus on the main dwelling is more limited than that; the camera or the pencil attempts to capture the front façade, and more specifically, the main gable. From the very first sketches of Baker and Trotter (Figures 2.4 and 2.5), to the paintings of Gwelo Goodman (Figure 1.10), there is a tendency to isolate the façade and gable of the main homestead, or, at the most, frame it with trees and mountains.

In fact, this focus on the main dwelling translated into urban Cape Dutch dwellings which were marked by their loss of identity in the surrounding urban development, such that an article in the *Cape Argus* lamented that 'many, like the Koopmans-De Wet home, are so closely walled in as to need a notice board to mark their identity'.[99] This desire to brush aside the surrounding "dirt" of urban context thereby allowing the "gem" to shine more brightly is indicative of the general approach to Cape Dutch buildings when represented through photographs or drawings and is a topic that is taken up again in Chapter Four. Furthermore, this focus of the façade follows through to the nearly complete exclusion of any published maps and plans of Cape Dutch homesteads. Kendall's publication of his restoration work at Groot Constantia and Walgate's plans of his alteration to Vergelegen are rare moments where the plans of the main dwelling and rest of the building elements of the homesteads are considered and begin to suggest the social space that these homesteads structured (Figure 2.6).

As we will see in the following Chapter, this compressing and flattening of settler history into the image of a gable seems to be indicative of the tendency to romanticise this settler history or, more simply, gables were the perfect picture to accompany some pretty words. The fact that the gable was the most readily used visual device to signify the use of Cape Dutch as part of the revival style was explored in the previous chapter. The gable most "copied," to a more or less precise form, was that of Groot Constantia. This gable was taken as iconic, and literally as the generic gable of all subsequent gables to what was thought to be Simon van der Stel's design. Abstracted and yet precisely linked to the 'founder of the nation,' the Groot Constantia gable can be understood as fundamental to the possession of the land by the stewards of the city.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the photographic mapping of Cape Dutch homesteads was begun in earnest by Arthur Elliot at the commission of the SANS. However, the somewhat expensive publication of photographs of Cape Dutch homesteads in newspapers and magazines had begun much earlier. The *Cape Times* had published Alys Trotter's article on 'Old Cape Homesteads' in 1898 with an impressive spread of images of Cape Dutch homesteads (Figure 2.7). It is also important to note that the Editor at the time

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[99] [News]*CT*, 1923.03.[20]: 'The Home of the Van Bredas.'

Image removed due to third party copyright

2.8 Groot Constantia (left) and the Castle (right) depicted in the Masthead for the *Cape Times* tourist information. Source: [News]*CT* August, 1928.

hoped that it would be 'an acceptable Christmas souvenir to send throughout South Africa, as well as to "absent friends" in Europe,'[100] which gives some indication of the early realisation of the power of these images to be used in promoting the Cape as a place of inhabited beauty. In later years, and as part of its Saturday magazine photograph vignettes page, the *Cape Times* would publish random and occasional photographs of Cape Dutch homesteads along with those related directly to articles they were running on Cape Dutch homesteads.

Image removed due to third party copyright

2.7 Groot Constantia wine cellar, illustrations accompanying Trotter's article 'Old Cape Homesteads.' Source: [News]*CT* Christmas, 1898.

The occasional occurrence of Cape Dutch images in the *SAAR*, and the frequent occurrence of Cape Dutch images in the *AB&E*, has already been noted. The November 1920 edition of the *AB&E* is a prime example of how images of Cape Dutch homesteads (as represented through the front façade and gable) came to form an abstracted visual material, aimed, in this case, specifically at 'up-country readers who do not happen to have seen these memorials of our storied South African past'.[101] The edition featured full page photographs of the facades and gables of the following homesteads: Spier, Elsenberg, Morgenster, Groot Constantia's front, back and side gables and also featured the gabled facades of two Dutch reformed churches at Paarl and Tulbagh.

Just as slave-bells began to occur somewhat arbitrarily in the landscape, Cape Dutch images appeared somewhat randomly in print medium. Part of this was to do with the emerging tourism industry where Cape Dutch gables came to symbolise the Western Cape as a tourist destination. The publication of the CPPA's *The Motorist's Paradise* in 1915 contains photos of Morgenster, Tokai, Schoongezicht, and routes were explicitly mapped out to Groote Schuur, Groot Constantia and the Cape Dutch town of Stellenbosch.[102] Obviously images of Cape Dutch homesteads such as Groot Constantia were being generated due to

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[100] [News]*CT* 1898.12.25: 'Old Cape Homesteads.'
[101] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.4, n.4, (November, 1920), p.17-22.
[102] Cape Peninsula Publicity Association, *The Motorists' Paradise. The Cape Peninsula and its Surrounding Districts*, (Cape Town: Cape Peninsula Publicity Association, 1915)

particular homesteads being promoted as places to visit. However, the increasing tendency to abstract the homestead and its gable is evidenced in the pamphlet titled 'Welcome to Cape Town the S.S. Empress of Asia' drawn by Fred Glennie for the CPPA in 1913.[103] The itinerary for the 3rd of July – which included a tour of Groot Constantia – depicts stone-pine trees, a gate and an undisclosed gabled homestead. In another example, what appears to be Groote Schuur is depicted as part of the *Cape Times*' masthead on 'Where to Stay' in Cape Town (Figure 2.8), whilst a generic gabled homestead is depicted in the weekly farming feature titled 'Round and About the Land'. These examples help illustrate how the gabled homestead came to be part of the visual lexicon identifying and defining the landscape of the Cape.

Conclusion

Much of the discourse around Cape Dutch architecture emphasised the role the early settlers played in bringing "civilisation" to the sub-continent. Within this, architects and Cape Dutch homesteads, or "great men" and the European culture the homesteads represented, were considered as both symbols and literal manifestations of the arrival and spread of this civilisation. Cape Dutch architecture and homesteads were simultaneously considered part of a high pedigree of European design and a rooted vernacular, allowing them to represent the Cape as being fundamentally European in origin and *literally* part of Europe. Consequently, the Cape itself could be understood to be a literal part of Europe, and the nagging unease of a conquering Empire could be dispelled – the land was not African but European. The production of this discourse helped consolidate a White identity that postured itself as superior and essentially European in contradistinction to Africa and Africans, whilst giving the project of Empire an unassailable, almost religious, necessity – the European culture that produced these great artefacts must surely continue its work in Africa! Furthermore, this discourse also discredited and diminished any involvement Africans and others may have had in the production of the buildings being revered, or their involvement in the building of the Cape's wealth. By focusing on the image of the gable, the discourse around Cape Dutch architecture necessarily excluded problematic aspects of the Cape's history, such as slavery, and, through a process of fetishism, introduced Cape Dutch elements such as slave bell-towers into the 1900s Cape cultural landscape as unproblematic aesthetic objects, flattened of meaning.

Where these Others were given a visible identity (as opposed to an absent one – but still completely negative in its sentiment), was in the discourse on Cape Town's inner-city areas and slums that emerged at the same time as the discourse on Cape Dutch architecture. It is this issue of vision and visibility that forms the focus of Chapter Four. However, it is necessary to conclude the exploration of the representation and restructuring of identity around Cape Dutch architecture with an investigation into how the elite at the Cape started to represent themselves as landed gentry through Cape Dutch homesteads,

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[103] [CAbox]A.2507: F.M. Glennie, unsorted personal papers, Folder 'O.'

and how this can be interpreted as a direct possession of the land of South Africa in the past and future of the British Empire.

3. Possessing the Land / Possessing the History: *Cape Dutch Country Houses and the Empire's New Landed Gentry*

> As I sit and sip 'Schoongezicht,' the thought comes – is it not possible that the released component elements of long dead and gone occupants, duly absorbed by the soil and reabsorbed by the vines, may pass into the wine of the country, such is this excellent Heritage, and assume within ourselves fresh life and shape? Why should not the personalities of the departed live again in our wine, as their intellects may be said to in the architecture bequeathed to us, such as we have been enjoying to-day.[1]
>
> F. Masey, 'The Beginnings of our Nation.'

Introduction

In the first part of the twentieth century, a number of politicians playing a dominant role in South Africa's wealth and future, either bought existing Cape Dutch homesteads, or had versions thereof built. Chapter One laid out how the need for a common English/Afrikaner identity gave a nationalist focus to the building preservation movement, which may partly explain the sudden interest in Cape Dutch homesteads by these politically active individuals. Furthermore, events in England may also shed some light on the phenomenon: the *nouveau riche*, for reasons of status, had begun to purchase, build and occupy country houses in a grand manner.[2] Certainly this forms part of the analysis undertaken here, and, one could argue that Cecil Rhodes started a *nouveau riche* Cape Dutch buying craze when he bought a few homesteads in the 1890s, ostensibly to start his fruit farming enterprise.[3] However, there are another two distinct considerations, related in some way to the issues raised in the previous two chapters that need their own further differentiation. This chapter first investigates the discourse supporting the notion that Cape Dutch homesteads were manor houses whose social relations and social space were considered a reflection and model for South Africa's emerging racial order. This idea of the justification of the present through the past is the basis of my interpretation of the design in 1892 for Rhodes's new house Groote Schuur that symbolically legitimised the project of Empire as the continuation of South Africa's early history. The second part of this chapter uses the findings of this discourse analysis and Rhodes's motives as the basis for an interpretation of the literal and symbolic possession of Cape Dutch homesteads by some of the country's elite and politicians.

Romantic Portrayals: Cape Dutch as Manor House, Country House and Home

Central to the production of the discourse around Cape Dutch architecture was the romanticising of the period, particularly through the imagining of the homesteads as manor houses inhabited by settler versions of the English landed gentry. As we saw in the previous

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[1] [Mag]*The State*, v.1, n.6, (June 1909), p.657.
[2] Stamp, G., *Edwin Lutyens. Country Houses from the Archives of Country Life*, (London: Arum Press, 2001), pp.14-18.

chapter, the early settler period was often portrayed as a dangerous time during which "civilisation" triumphed over "barbarism." However, there was also a tendency to imagine that time as a period of idyll. Both these stances were used to valorise the "miraculous" production of the Cape Dutch homestead as manor house. Consider Prime Minister J.C. Smuts' preface to Dorothea Fairbridge's *Historic Houses of South Africa*:

> It is evident that this noble architecture could only have arisen in times of comparative quiet and leisure. And of this there must have been plenty in the secluded sun-filled valleys of the Cape in those far-off times.[4]

The leisured class that constituted the English landed-gentry seems to be lurking in the background of Smuts' understanding of the social conditions at the time of the production of the Cape Dutch homesteads. Alys Trotter's *Old Cape Colony* echoed Smuts' sense of the period being one of idyll. She depicts the arrival of Willem Adriaan van der Stel in 1699 to, as she imagines it, the Cape as a paradise:

> White walled farms gleamed with their enclosures on the distant mountains, young oak trees were everywhere planted; vineyards and gardens, vital with the wonderful vitality of virgin soil made the peninsula a paradise in the eyes of the tired seafarers.[5]

The 'paradise' being depicted was characterised as being distinctly European in appearance and highly romanticised. The Van der Stels – Simon as Governor of the Cape from 1679 until his son Willem Adriaan assumed control in 1699 until 1708 – were the two individuals who received the greatest overlay of romanticism by the early historians, in a process verging on adulation. Certainly Willem Adriaan was not everyone's firm favourite, thanks to his somewhat heavy-handed exploitation of the settlers during his office and his dubious accumulation of wealth represented by his large homestead of Vergelegen. His twentieth-century apologists argued his case around the thesis that he was a highly civilised and cultured individual who should be venerated whatever his supposed ill-doing to those under his control. Alys Trotter understood the paradox that Willem Adriaan's case presented to the twentieth-century production of discourse around Cape Dutch architecture: Vergelegen, so it seemed at the time, was the very building that, along with Groot Constantia, was the template by which all other homesteads were developed, and yet was the physical object that galvanised a mini-revolution at the Cape leading to the departure of the "great man." She writes the following of Vergelegen: 'It is sad and curious to reflect that had this house never been built, the clever Van der Stel family might still be represented in South Africa.'[6] The extension of this scenario was (had this been the case) that Cape Dutch homesteads would not have existed. Even after it was discovered that the gabled Groot Constantia was not the original form of the homestead of Simon Van der Stel, it did not preclude the

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[3] Baker, H., *Cecil Rhodes*, p.64.
[4] Fairbridge, D., *The Historic Houses of South Africa*, p.ix.
[5] Trotter, A. F., *Old Cape Colony*, p.96.
[6] [News]*CT* 1898.12.25: 'Old Cape Homesteads.'

continued romanticising of the man through the place and *vice versa*. An example of this can be found in a 1931 edition of *The Cape*:

> [Groot Constantia] is not as originally built by Van der Stel [...] Yet, whether you visit Groot Constantia when big purple and red clusters are still hanging, or perhaps in late autumn, when the leaves of the grape vines are yellow and crimson, or when the pale, fresh green of spring weaves a fairylike enchantment, there is always an appearance of ancient grandeur about the place.[7]

Along with the implicit romantic images such as these of the Cape Dutch homesteads and their occupants, there is evidence of their literal representation as manor houses. Consider, for example the speech of the Administrator of the Cape at the Opening ceremony of the restored Groot Constantia:

> What is it that makes Groot Constantia a precious heritage to us to-day? It is the association of the homestead with the name of Simon van der Stel, one of the greatest names of all times in South African history [...] I have now very much pleasure in declaring the restored *manor house* of Groot Constantia open.[8] [emphasis added].

Trotter's Christmas article in the *Cape Times* suggested that 'the populous and busy modern South Africa of the future will make pilgrimage to the Old Homesteads of the Western Province as Americans make pilgrimage to-day to the old Manor Houses of England'.[9] This vision of the Cape Dutch homestead as a manor house was suggested through the use of other words. Consider, for example the following excerpt from the editorial of the *AB&E* describing the adaptation of European society to local conditions by the settlers: 'The free worker of the Lowlands of Europe was replaced by the coloured *serf* of the Cape'[10] [Emphasis added]. These verbal references then, have the effect of establishing Cape Dutch homesteads within the traditions of a European landed gentry.

Not only were Cape Dutch homesteads imagined as manor houses, but were also imagined as places where the values of a "home-life" had been a priority. The nuclear family was pictured as part of the general romantic assembly of the settlers' manor houses (Figure 3.1). It is worth quoting an excerpt from the following article which appeared in the *Cape Times* in 1931 under the pseudonym 'Progress,' concerning the reconstruction of the homestead Bien Donne following the damage done to it by a fire. The full title of the article is 'Old Cape Homestead Restored. A Genuine Echo of the 17th Century. "Bien Donne" reconstructed on original plans':

> Here, far from the country of their birth, they raised as enduring monuments to their industry, courage, faith and culture, those glowing jewels of architectural beauty that remind us, in the hectic rush of twentieth century life, of the days when the home was the centre of human endeavour, and reflected the thoughts, aspirations

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[7] [News]*The Cape*, 1931.04.10: 'The Constantia Valley.'
[8] [News]*CT* 1927.09.22: 'Groot Constantia.'
[9] [News]*CT* 1898.12.25: 'Old Cape Homesteads.'
[10] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.17, n.6, (January, 1934), p.7.

> and culture of an age of gracious courtliness [...] But of Bien Donne, the well given, it may be written that, lacking the place in history that Van der Stel's homestead occupies, it is yet nearer to the heart of the people, because it idealised the people's home of that period [...] None who pass that way can fail to visualise those stirring adventurous days – when the labour and joy of creation was centred in the Home Beautiful, and the years passed lightly in the pleasant valley of the Huguenots.[11]

3.1 Masthead of *Die Huisgenoot* (The Home-Enjoyment), illustrates a Cape Dutch homestead as exemplifying the Home Beautiful: 'Pa' returning home from work being greeted by two children, 'Ma' at the threshold to the "Home," and perhaps 'Grandpa' on a bench on the front *stoep*. Source: [Mag]*Die Huisgenoot*, v.7, n.81, (January, 1923).

Bien Donne and other homesteads similar to it are thus presented as potential templates for the middle class of the increasingly conflict-ridden twentieth century. It is 'nearer to the heart of the people' because it is less ostentatious than Simon van der Stel's Groot Constantia but still provides a model for 'the Home Beautiful'. House museums such as Koopmans-de-Wet, which had been instituted to preserve 'the fast-disappearing emblems of the home-life of the people, for future generations,'[12] were part of this valorising of the past life of the early settlers. An article titled 'Our Old Houses' contains this idea of domestic tradition, and thence didactic importance of the preservation of Cape Dutch homesteads:

> The nation that despises its traditions must lose its soul. If we are not called upon to sacrifice our lives in defence of the ashes of our fathers and the temples of our gods it would appear to be at least reasonable that we expend thought and care and cash upon the preservation of the worthy hearths and homes of our forebears.[13]

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[11] [News]*CT* 1931.06.09: 'Old Cape Homestead Restored.'
[12] Finch, J. R., *The Cape of Good Hope. Being the Official Handbook of the City of Capetown*, (Cape Town: City of Capetown, 1926), p.28.
[13] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.15, n.1, (August, 1931), p.7.

This idea, that Cape Dutch homesteads, and the idealised lifestyle associated therewith, were being imagined as templates for the twentieth century, brings us to the following section.

The Past in the Present: Rhodes and the English Possession of Dutch History

The stewards of the city saw the past in the present, or rather, the idealised and hierarchical social structures of the Cape Dutch period as models for the twentieth century. Consider the following extract from the December 1920 edition of the *AB&E* article on 'The Need for a South African Architecture' in which the Cape Dutch homestead has provided a model by which South Africans (meaning White South Africans), could live:

> The high dark room and tree-shaded grounds have become the agreeable retreats of all from the glare of the sun and the aridity of the plains. The '*stoep*' has become the outward and visible sign of a love for the open air. The separated outbuildings have afforded appropriate housing for the black and coloured servants. A love of green and white has been engendered by experience gained in sun-swept spaces [...] Out of these and similar expressions of the emotions of memory or the clamant needs of our present life a concrete expression in domestic architecture may most certainly be predicted. It will derive much from the Cape Dutch style.[14]

That the separated outbuildings of slave lodges 'afforded appropriate housing for the black and coloured servants' is a statement of fairly astounding hierarchical sentiments. This then is the model for the twentieth century: White masters living a refined and cultured home-loving life whilst the slaves are separated into a one dimensional existence, housed in quarters sustaining their health and maintaining their status, always present but never near, White, but not quite. Indeed, it is exactly this model of housing for Cape Town's "non-White" population that is the focus of Chapters Six and Seven.

Trotter's early article on Cape Dutch homesteads in the *Cape Times* also offers a glimpse at the way stewards of the city saw the past in the present:

> It was here that [Simon Van der Stel] built the well-known country house of Constantia [...] The vines still grow there in the sunshine, for Constantia is a successful wine farm whose labour is carried on by convicts; and the men calling to each other in the quiet of the great heat are picking the purple and golden bunches, much as the old Governor's slaves would have done [...] Constantia is a wonderful place for dreaming.[15]

Solomon's article on the 'The Architecture of South Africa' in 1914 suggests that he saw the 'labourers' (as he called them) as having helped develop the country under the guidance of the settlers and carries on to consider that:

> Here in South Africa it seems to be a legitimate use of our vast native population for the purpose of building roads to traverse our country, and dams and barrages wherewith we might develop schemes of irrigation.[16]

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[14] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.4, n.5, (December, 1920), p.10-11.
[15] [News]*CT* 1898.12.25: 'Old Cape Homesteads.'
[16] [News]*Transvaal Leader* 1914.02.23: 'Architecture in South Africa.'

3.2 Groote Schuur, bronze relief depicting the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck, and indigenous inhabitants. Source: [UCTimage]BC206.

The excerpts from Solomon and Trotter above also point to another aspect of representations of Cape Dutch homesteads that need to be explored. This is the sense of continuity, represented in Trotter's case by the vines (believed to have been planted by Van der Stel), and by the labourers in Solomon's case, in which the past is ready to be possessed and re-enacted by the present. The finding of legitimacy of the present social structure in the valorised past also extended to the idea of individuals and their right to possess artefacts of the past, or simply, to establish a lineage of possession from then till now. Returning to Solomon's article we find the following example of this:

> It required a great personality like Simon van der Stel, who, in the face of tremendous opposition and continual fault-finding on the part of 'The Seventeen' – the name by which the Company was known in Holland – centred his ideal of life, just as Cecil Rhodes did in later years, in homes of quiet dignity and beauty amidst orderly plantations of avenues and groves.[17]

Solomon's connecting of the venerated Van der Stel to the slightly more dubious Rhodes would have been a conscious move to give credence to Rhodes's imperialist vision. There was, however, a far more literal connection between Rhodes and the "grand" past of the original Governors at the Cape, and one which he himself enacted. It is to the design and building of Rhodes's Groote Schuur that we now turn.

Cecil Rhodes, Herbert Baker and Groote Schuur

I have already noted in the first chapter the symbolic act of conciliation between English and Afrikaner that Rhodes made in his building of Groote Schuur. But Rhodes' Groote Schuur could also be read in another way in which Rhodes' gestures towards Cape Dutch architecture were perhaps more founded on visions of Empire rather than nation. Rhodes, who had attended Balliol College in Oxford, had also listened attentively to John Ruskin's lectures. Baker identifies this as the source of Rhodes' imperialist drive and that he was following Ruskin's suggestion to found colonies for the Empire and teach England's colonists

3.3 Alabaster frieze at South Africa House, London, showing Groote Schuur (left) at the time of first the first settlement of the Cape. Source: McNab, R., *The Story of South Africa House.*

to 'make England a centre of peace, mistress of learning and of the arts'.[18] By literally building his new house on the foundations of one of the first Governor at the Cape's buildings, Rhodes can be understood to possess that past for himself.

There were also symbolic acts, one of which was the implementation of a bronze relief sculpture above the main door of Groote Schuur (Figure 3.2) showing the arrival of Van Riebeeck at the Cape receiving supplication from the indigenous population: Rhodes simply *is* Van Riebeeck, or else, is simply continuing the process of colonisation that van Riebeeck helped implement. Another symbolic act is illustrated by the fact that he changed the name of what was called The Grange to Groote Schuur, thereby reconnecting the building to its past by using the Dutch words for "Big Barn." In addition, its first use as a grain store is perhaps indicative of his intent to possess the present and the future *development* of South Africa through the past. In a more subtle way, and perhaps through the efforts of Baker and Trotter rather than Rhodes himself, Rhodes's parity with Cape Dutch historical figures is reinforced in *Old Colonial Houses of the Cape of Good Hope*[19] where a photograph of Groote Schuur makes an appearance amongst original Cape Dutch homesteads. Even after his death he was still possessing South Africa through representations in South Africa House in London: Groote Schuur's relief sculpture of Jan van Riebeeck being met by the indigenous inhabitants was recreated for the foyer, whilst an alabaster frieze depicts Rhodes's Groote Schuur being approached anachronistically by original settler ships (Figure 3.3).

These acts amount to a literal and symbolic possession of history to which Dorothea Fairbridge was well aware. In her *The Historic Houses of South Africa*, she points to Groote

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[17] [News]*Transvaal Leader* 1914.02.23: 'Architecture in South Africa.'
[18] Baker, H., *Cecil Rhodes*, p.11.

Schuur as the re-manifestation of the original Dutch barn, and Rhodes as the descendant of Van Riebeeck:

> But when we stand on the *stoep* behind Groote Schuur and look out across the blur of colour under the stone pines in the garden - cannas, bougainvillea, and plumbago - across the soft turquoise of the hydrangeas on the hillside and up the silver-clad slopes of the grey mountain, we are only conscious of the two great spirits of the past - the two pioneers - Jan van Riebeeck and Cecil Rhodes. As long as this South Africa of ours endures their names will be linked together in this lovely spot - the corn lands of the one, the home of the other. Even the house reflects the work of both, for underneath the building - the fourth erected on this site - are the foundations of the great barn in which van Riebeeck stored his grain, found by Mr. Herbert Baker in making the necessary excavations.[20]

Through the possession of the past, then, authors such as Fairbridge were aware that individuals such as Rhodes could lay a legitimate claim to the land that had been settled by Europeans more than two centuries before. That this land was not simply South Africa but in fact the whole of Africa to be kept and contained by the Empire, is suggested in this following quote taken from the City of Cape Town's official guide to the Cape from 1909:

> Van der Stel was the great pioneer of his day and an enthusiastic farmer. His first Colony was named after himself. Two hundred years later the Pioneer of the North bequeaths his name to *his* first settlement – Rhodesia! To-day, in a part of the former's original colony of Stellenbosch we are to revive many memories of both, - to renew our acquaintance with the past and see the developments effected by the industry of people of English, Dutch and French descent.[21]

This is not to suggest that Rhodes did not also consider Groote Schuur, in its lavishness and its pretences, as a status symbol, or as a signifier of "nobility." That Rhodes's Groote Schuur had been designed along the lines of a country house was not missed by the author of an article in the *Rand Daily Mail* in 1931, who, in writing on the home of the Prime Minister, reported that it 'has been described as one of the most beautiful country seats to be found anywhere out of England'.[22] Rhodes had started a trend whereby Cape Dutch came to signify status and gentility. In fact, by 1935,[23] C.P. Walgate had taken to describing the existing Cape Dutch homesteads as 'country houses' which indicates the extent to which these once dilapidated working farmhouses had been reinterpreted and purchased by the elite in the forty-odd years since Rhodes's initial endeavours. It hardly seems surprising to read that Edwin Lutyens, long in the service of providing country houses for English clients, offered this advice to architects at the Cape on his visit in 1919:

> Finally, look to your old homesteads; reverence them and use them as models intelligently, not copying them without the understanding that those old Dutchmen were gentlemen.[24]

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[19] Trotter, A. F. and Baker, H., *Old Colonial Houses of the Cape of Good Hope*, plate xxxiv.
[20] Fairbridge, D., *The Historic Houses of South Africa*, p.66.
[21] Finch, J. R., *The Cape of Good Hope*, p.55.
[22] [News]*Rand Daily Mail* 1931.05.30: 'Permanent Home of the Premiers.'
[23] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.19, n.2, (September, 1935), p.7.
[24] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.2, n.10, (May, 1919), p.15.

This, then, forms the basis for the next two sections: Cape Dutch homesteads, and Cape Dutch revival country houses, as literal and symbolic possession of status and the rightful possession of the land of South Africa in the service of the project of Empire.

Literal Possessions: Stewards of the City as Landed Gentry

Along with Simon van der Stel's Groot Constantia, Willem Adriaan van der Stel's Vergelegen emerged as one of the most highly venerated Cape Dutch homesteads. It is not surprising then, that Vergelegen became the object of possession when it was purchased from Samuel Kerr in 1917 by the Johannesburg mining-magnate Lionel Phillips, thanks to the efforts of his wife Florence.[25] This following section considers the event of the purchase and "restoration" of Vergelegen southwest of Stellenbosch, as well as the Cape Dutch homestead of Lanzerac, east of Stellenbosch. Also under consideration is the extent to which a number of highly influential people – mostly politicians – were involved in possessing Cape Dutch homesteads during the period of study.

With thoughts of retirement, the erstwhile President of the Chamber of Mines, Lionel Phillips, under pressure from his wife Florence, chose to purchase the Cape Dutch homestead of Vergelegen near Somerset West in 1917. Although it is plausible to consider that, perhaps like some people nearing retirement, a place in the country was an obvious choice, and whilst it is important to acknowledge that Vergelegen was subsequently turned into a productive and profitable farm which may have been part of the initial plan, there is enough evidence to suggest that the Phillips had other very specific reasons for purchasing Vergelegen. These, I would like to argue, were fundamentally linked to notions of Englishness, the general ending of the uprightness of the project of Empire in the period after WWI, and the emerging threat of urbanity, democracy and modernism to the existing class- and race-based social order.

Vergelegen, as has already been mentioned above, was the original but partly modified homestead of Willem Adriaan van der Stel, son of Simon van der Stel and governor of the Cape from 1699 –1708. That the homestead, along with Groot Constantia, had been represented during the first few decades of the twentieth century as an almost mythical exemplar of a country or manor house has also been considered. It was none other than Florence Phillips' good friend, Dorothea Fairbridge, who was at the forefront of this adoration, defending the name of Adriaan and rewriting the history of his exile. At the time, England's country estates were being represented, through institutions such as the National Trust, as part of an idyllic and ideal rural past. In fact Lionel Phillips had purchased Tylney estate outside of Reading in 1898. That Phillips was willing to sell Arcadia, the elaborate house Herbert Baker had designed for him, and move from an increasingly urban Johannesburg to rural Vergelegen should also not go unmentioned. Vergelegen required extensive and expensive alterations and additions to make it "habitable" which suggests that

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[25] Gutsche, T., *No Ordinary Woman. The Life and Times of Florence Phillips*, (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1966), p.342.

3.4 Current front façade of Vergelegen, Somerset West. Source: Author.

its purchase was motivated more by ideological reasons rather than utilitarian or economic ones. It seems very likely, then, that the Phillips' purchased the estate for the ready-made identity that its originator, and the building itself, represented to them. Exactly what this identity was is fairly complex and needs to be mapped out below.

During the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, the rural past of England was beginning to be revered by proponents of the Arts & Crafts movement as an idyllic and ideal condition to be returned to. Not only did the rural unpolluted landscape offer the promise of relief from industrial cities such as Manchester, but others have suggested that the hierarchical world of the past that it represented offered a sense of order to those whose class-values were being confronted in the urban chaos of cities such as London.[26] The revering of the "landed gentry," although not in keeping with William Morris's egalitarian and socialist visions, emerged at the end of the nineteenth century as a particularly English undertaking, through which much emphasis was placed on the landed gentry representing the value of culture, learning, refinement and history.[27] Thanks to the efforts of Florence Phillips' friend Dorothea Fairbridge and others, Adriaan Van der Stel would easily have fitted the concept at the time of a country gentleman and Vergelegen itself would have matched the representation as a country house with its fine gables, symmetry and large garden, whilst simultaneously fitting in with the less ostentatious emerging aesthetic of the Arts & Crafts movement (Figure 3.4). Possessing Vergelegen would have been an opportunity for the Phillips' to assert their desired class-values and literally remove themselves from the democratic messiness of the city.

Vergelegen and Van der Stel may, however, have had a stronger and more personal resonance with the Phillips's. There are a series of parallels between the lives of the Phillips and Van der Stel that need to be exposed. Firstly, if Van Riebeeck was acclaimed as the

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[26] Hawkins, A., 'The Discovery of Rural England,' in Colls, R. and Dodd, P. (eds), *Englishness. Politics and Culture, 1880-1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1986)

symbol of the first permanent White settlers in South Africa, and Simon van der Stel as the bringer of colonists, then Adriaan was represented by authors such as Dorothea Fairbridge as the first entrepreneur and agriculturalist. In essence Adriaan was a developer who "opened up" the country with his agricultural almanac and colonisation of the interior for development.[28] Lionel Phillips, a man who had been at the forefront of the development of the mining industry in South Africa, would quite possibly have seen himself as some kind of spiritual descendent of Van der Stel. Florence Phillips, as an avid farmer, modelled herself on Adriaan's achievements in this sphere. Much was made in discourse around Adriaan and Simon van der Stel of their hospitality and the focus of the political world around both Vergelegen and Groot Constantia. The potential for the Phillips to re-enact those early "grand" days of the Van der Stel period may have suggested itself to the Phillips when considering Vergelegen as a retirement home. Florence Phillips' biographer, Thelma Gutsche notes of the Sunday lunches held at Vergelegen:

> The Prime Minister, the Admiral, the Archbishop, members of Parliament, distinguished overseas visitors (it was said of the Phillips that "they knew everyone" and were correspondingly influential), professors, artists, editors, scientists, writers, would find themselves at the same table and exposed to her uninhibited outbursts.[29]

Even the Governor-General and Princess Alice (the Athlones) were often visitors to Vergelegen.[30]

This is not to suggest that the Phillips' identified with Van der Stel as a Dutchman. The possession of Vergelegen was not in any way part of the general English/Afrikaner reconciliation others such as J.C. Smuts had attempted to engineer through Cape Dutch architecture. In fact, Florence Phillips had no qualms about discrediting Afrikaans and Dutch history in the development of South Africa, preferring to locate its importance with the English.[31] As a true believer in bolstering the supporters of the Empire in South Africa, Florence Phillips even campaigned for new immigration from England upon the centenary celebration of the 1820 English settlers through the 1820 Association.[32] Rather than simulating any reconciliation between the English and Afrikaner, the Phillips' were occupying the space of the image created of Van der Stel as being a fine and civilised gentleman living in a fine manor house – a particularly Romantic and English image of the life of the landed gentry of the eighteenth century. In fact, I would go so far as to suggest that Van der Stel was never particularly Dutch, and Somerset West and the Cape Peninsula was more part of the English landscape than South African – to those purchasing the homesteads at any rate.

Purchasing Vergelegen and "restoring" it must be understood as part of the general stewardship that the English at the Cape felt was a necessary protection of History itself –

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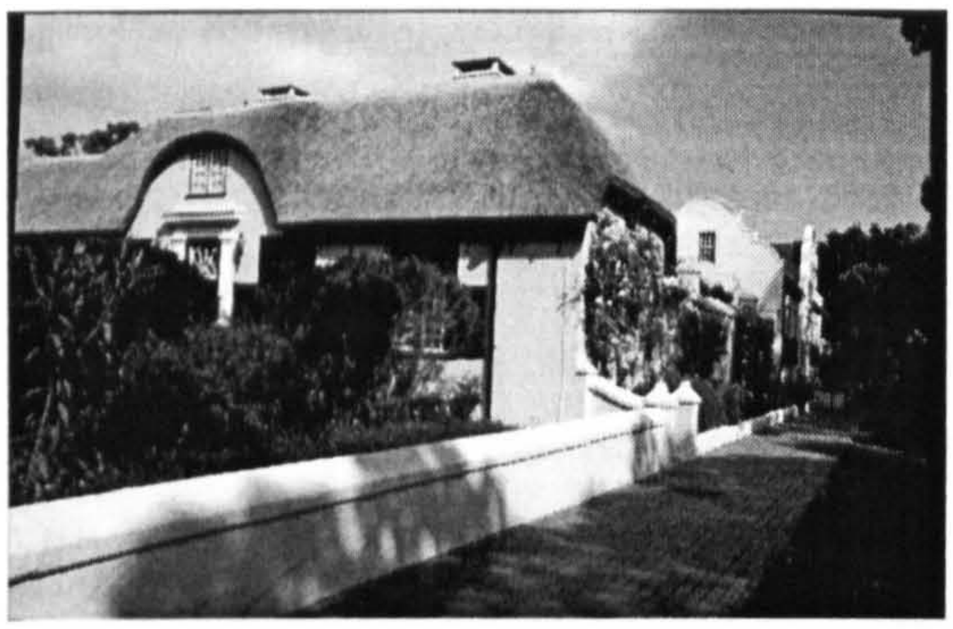
[27] Meacham, S., *Regaining Paradise. Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p.9.
[28] Fairbridge, D., *Historic Farms of South Africa. The Wool, the Wheat, the Wine of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1931).
[29] Gutsche, T., *No Ordinary Woman*, p.365.
[30] *Ibid.*, p.376.
[31] *Ibid.*, p.376 & 390.



3.5 C.P. Walgate's side addition to Vergelegen showing front façade of main house to the right. Source: Author.

3.6 C.P. Walgate's side addition to Vergelegen, showing pond. Source: Author.

here I mean the concept of Western civilisation, which the English understood to be the sole constituent of History. For individuals such as the Phillips, the English were, in South Africa, the natural heirs and conclusion to a story of Western civilisation begun in the time of Van der Stel and left incomplete by the "boorish Boers" who had had him exiled; the Afrikaners in their part could not carry the task as the general impression at the time was that they had lost their "civilisation" when they went off into the wilderness that was the Great Trek in the late 1830s. This gives credence to the suggestion that the English – even one born in South Africa as Florence Phillips was – were claiming the early settler past as their own through a moral necessity. The purchase, "restoration" and living in of Vergelegen was more than an act of possession of grandeur and status; it was the restitution and securing of "European civilisation" as tautology, the very definition of civilisation itself. The self-assured cultural chauvinism that saw Western civilisation as essential to all humankind was a fundamental part of the narrative of legitimacy of the project of Empire in a period of increasing threats to the seemingly indubitable veracity of the project itself.

Another example of Vergelegen's symbolic power in the services of Empire is to be found in the City of Cape Town's reaction to the arrival of the Prince of Wales on an official visit in 1925. As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, the Prince was taken on a motorcar tour of Cape Dutch homesteads in and around the Peninsula. As part of the gifts given to him on his departure, the Prince was to receive a photograph album of amongst other things, Cape Dutch homesteads.[33] This photograph album was to bear the coat of arms of the Van der Stels, as well as have its cover made from wood from the Camphor trees Willem Adriaan Van der Stel had planted at Vergelegen some 225 years previously. The future king of England not only possessed images of the grand past of part of the Empire, but literally possessed that past as future through his proxy possession of Vergelegen as symbolised through the camphor-tree photo-album.

But what of the restoration itself? The task of the restoration fell to J.M. Solomon, a protégé of Bakers, who was being extended beyond his capacity in the design of the new

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[32] *Ibid.*, p.354.
[33] [News]*CT* 1925.02.20: 'The Prince's Visit.'

campus for the University of Cape Town. At Solomon's request, Baker sent Percy Walgate, who he had in Delhi, to work on Vergelegen. When Solomon committed suicide, Walgate had full responsibility for the design and restoration even though his knowledge of Cape Dutch architecture was limited. Florence Phillips had sponsored Fairbridge's *Historic Houses* and she was a source of instruction for Walgate. Despite this, the work Walgate achieved was, like so much of the "restoration" of the time, a rather less than sensitive intervention. The back gable was torn down and replaced by one copied from the old church at Paarl.[34] Contrary to Gutsche's findings that Walgate used 'authentic joinery' and metalwork 'to conform to early Dutch patterns,'[35] the whole design was clearly driven by Arts & Crafts sentiments. The two courtyards and the hipped-roof side-wings with their fountains and reflecting ponds beyond, the planting of cypress trees (Figures 3.5 and 3.6), and the inserts and detailing on the shutters,[36] all point to the workings of an Arts & Crafts architect not thoroughly familiar with Cape Dutch nuances and operating through current European considerations.

No. 1. LANZERAC ESTATE. PLANS OF THE HOMESTEAD.

3.7 Kendall & Morris's alteration to Schoongezicht (Lanzerac), Stellenbosch, including the symmetrical addition of a study and bedroom bay to the front and a bedroom and kitchen at the back, and attic bedrooms for guests and servants. Source: Lanzerac Auction Catalogue, 1934.

Contemporary to the Phillips' restoration and a fairly short distance away, Elizabeth Katherina English, the wife of a mining pioneer, [37] bought the Cape Dutch homestead, Schoongezicht (Lanzerac) from J.H. Wicht in 1914.[38] In 1920, Kendall and Morris were commissioned to provide a series of options for extension of the old Cape Dutch homestead with the work being undertaken in 1921. Minor work included the addition of chimneys, new doors and *stoep* to the southwest, and the replacement of the screen between the hall and

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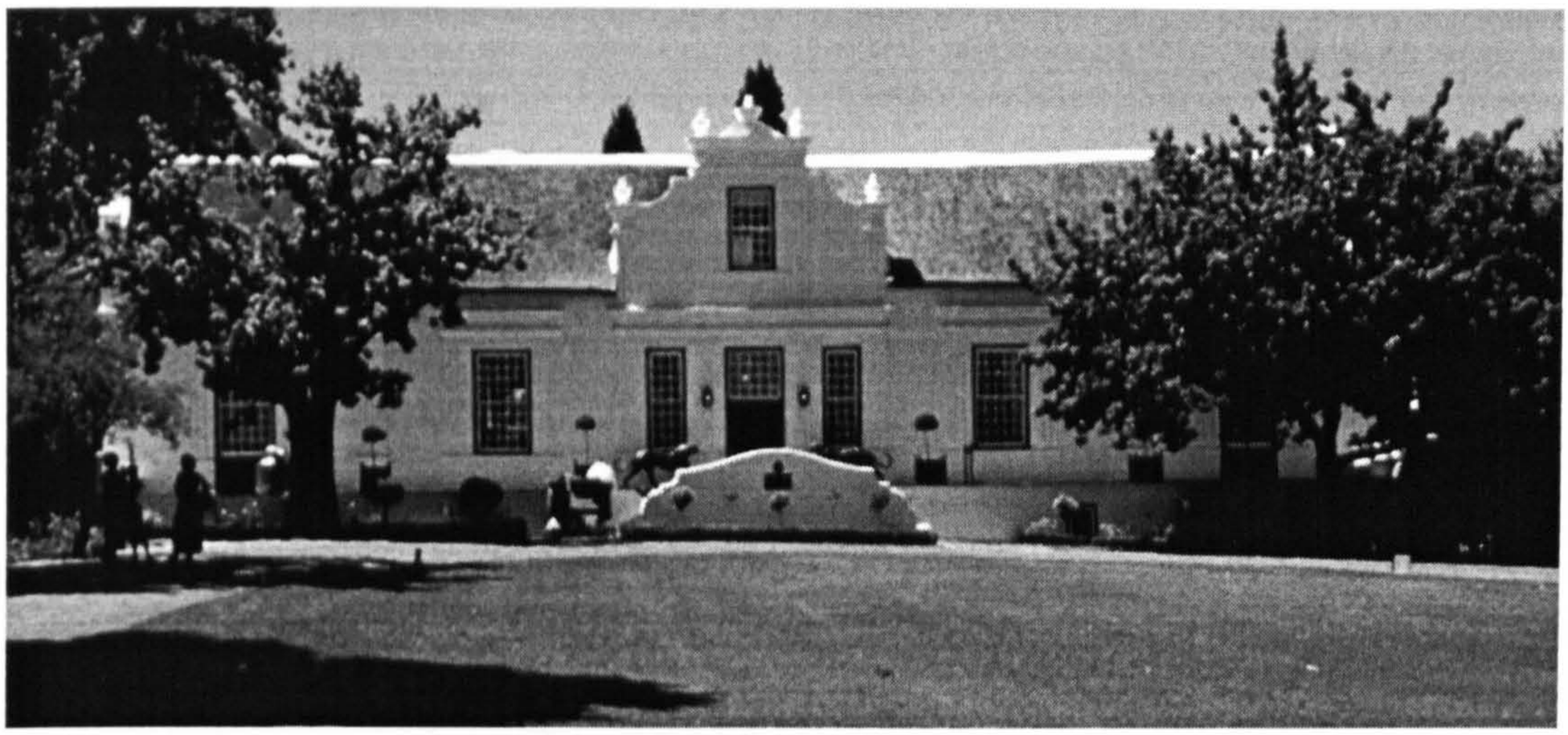
[34] Gutsche, T., *No Ordinary Woman*, p.362.
[35] *Ibid.*, p.368.
[36] I am grateful to John Rennie, the architect of a recent restoration of Vergelegen, for pointing this out.
[37] Gutsche, T., *No Ordinary Woman*, p.374.



3.8 Kendall & Morris's 1921 addition to Schoongezicht (Lanzerac) changed the proportion of the front façade through the addition of a bay at each end. Source: Author.

what became the dining room (Figure 3.7). The majority of the work eventually involved adding two new rooms at each end of the front façade, adding a new kitchen and bedroom / bathroom placed symmetrically about a new courtyard at the back, and the addition of servants' rooms and guests' rooms in the attic. The somewhat extensive changes in space, form and function that resulted may suggest that Kendall and Morris were less than committed in their historical sensitivity and in their work with the SANS. Kendall and Morris would later insist that old Cape Dutch dwellings could and should be altered to include the conveniences and comfort expected of a modern home[39] thereby making them even more desirable possessions.

An article was written in the *Natal Mercury* by L. Cumming-George concerning the recent alterations and additions to the Cape Dutch homestead of Parel Vallei originally owned by exiled Frans van der Stel, son of Simon van der Stel. In commenting on the project designed by C.P. Walgate for James Head, the article adds an almost teleological necessity to the idea of bettering the building by insisting that the modern kitchen brings the building 'no doubt nearer to-day [to] that which Van der Stel dreamed when he planned and which he regretfully and reluctantly had to abandon'.[40] The sense of completing the project of the past is a theme that was noted above as an interpretation of the Phillips' purchase of Vergelegen.

It was quite clear that extensive alterations done sensitively for a worthy client – a steward such as Elizabeth English and her house at Lanzerac – was far more desirable than having the buildings grow derelict through abandonment or, worse, having them disfigured through the boorish, corrugated-iron additions made by farmers themselves. Furthermore, what seems to be a rather excessive and irreverent alteration and addition was in all likelihood not viewed that way by Morris and Kendall and their contemporaries. The Cape Dutch homestead was represented as part of an Arts & Crafts genre, and in that sense the additions were simply an extension of a pre-existing fabric that resonated with the dominant

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[38] Unauthored Fact Sheet from Lanzerac Hotel.
[39] [News]*CA* 1925.03.28: 'Part of Old Wynberg: An Experiment in Restoration.'
[40] [News]*Natal Mercury* 1930.05.16: 'Fine Old Architecture of the Cape.'

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3.10 Kendall & Morris alteration to Schoongezicht (Luncarty) showing design for fireplace with star perhaps symbolic of Van der Stel. Source: [UCTbox]BC206, 90.

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3.9 Kendall & Morris addition to Schoongezicht (Lanzerac) showing servant's window at eaves. Source: [UCTimage]BC206.

stylistic and ideological architectural movement in the Cape and Britain at the time. The new elements such as the "leg-of mutton" dormer window to the maids' rooms literally creeps into the very fabric of the old building (Figure 3.9). Possessing the original through additions such as this was an important part of the possession of the land through the object.

It is, however, important to note that Lanzerac was not in any way seen as a simple Arts & Crafts cottage; it was more correctly imagined as a modest country house with seven bedrooms, three maids' rooms, a study, a drawing room, large hall and living room, a morning room and kitchen area. It is interesting to note the extent to which typical Edwardian concerns for separating servants (and those they served) through space had on the design. Thanks to the late addition of attic guest-rooms to the programme towards the end of construction, Morris insisted on adding another staircase to avoid 'young men having to go from the Bed Rooms to the Bath Room' past the maids' rooms.[41] This decision effectively led to the addition of a two new bays to each end of the front façade instead of the low minor additions originally planned, and thereby bringing a radical change in the front proportions of the building (Figure 3.8). Whilst some may argue – despite the general ideological climate at the time – that Elizabeth English quite simply wanted to "farm grapes and make wine" there is a simple detail designed presumably by Morris (Figure 3.10) that suggests that her intentions, or her architects intentions for her, were more grandiose. An eight-sided star inlayed into the panel above the new fireplace in the dining room suggests she was marking herself with the Van der Stels' emblem.

As has been mentioned above, Rhodes, through his purchase and rebuilding of what became Groote Schuur, lay possession to a settler past. Rhodes also set about purchasing a number of Cape Dutch homesteads including Nooitgedacht, Good Hope, Boschendal, Rhone, Lekkerwyn, Weltevreden, Vredenburg, and Bien Donne, in and around the

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[41] [UCT]BC206, 90: 1921.10.21, Letter from Morris to Devenish.

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3.11 Baker & Kendall, addition to Lidcote, Cape Town, for R. Stuttaford. Source: [UCTbox]BC206,

Simonsberg and Drakenstein Mountains in order to establish his envisioned fruit-farm empire.[42] Apart from the few politicians who had ancestral claims to the Cape Dutch homesteads they occupied during the period of study – such as "Onze Jan" Hofmeyr at Welgemeend – Rhodes seemed to have sparked a purchasing craze of Cape Dutch homesteads in and around Cape Town by the city's elite. John X. Merriman, Prime Minister of the Cape from 1908 until Union, was the owner of the Cape Dutch Homestead Schoongezicht in Stellenbosch at least during the period 1900 –1910.[43] J.W. Sauer, who held the cabinet post of Native Affairs and introduced the Land Bill leading to the racially segregationist and disempowering Land Act of 1913,[44] was the owner of Uitkyk, north of Stellenbosch. Richard Stuttaford, who, as a member of parliament in 1919, motivated for and partly financed Pinelands Garden City – "South Africa's first Garden City" as the saying goes – following a visit to Letchworth in England with Raymond Unwin in 1917, also commissioned Baker in the Cape Dutch inspired design of his house Lidcote in Kenilworth in 1904 (Figure 3.11).[45] Some 20 years later Stuttaford went on to purchase the old Cape Dutch homestead of Rustenburg east of Stellenbosch whereupon Morris was involved with some restoration work.[46] The man from whom Stuttaford purchased Rustenburg, was Lord Percy De Villiers, the first president of the SANS.

Whilst the same suggestions made at the beginning of the section on Vergelegen could be made on these individuals and their possession of Cape Dutch homesteads – that they were retired, wanted to farm, or perhaps were investing in economically lucrative property – it is quite clear that some of them were committed to the Cape Dutch restoration and preservation movement for ideological reasons. This can be inferred from their membership to either the CUS or the SANS, and the general ideological motivations of those movements. Meiring Beck was president of the SANS and it seems likely that his purchase of the Tulbagh Drostdy was motivated by a sincere desire to preserve the settler past. That Stuttaford was a committed possessor of the Cape Dutch homestead of Rustenberg is supported by his membership to the SANS and the CUS as well as in a letter sent by Kendall to him in 1926.[47] Although Sauer was more of a Republican than an Imperialist,[48] his wife was a member of the SANS at least in 1923 suggesting that protecting identity and preserving Cape Dutch homesteads was an active consideration. Other minor players in the future of South Africa such as Julia Solly of Knorhoek, James Rawbone of Broadlands, were also

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[42] Baker, H., *Cecil Rhodes*, p.243-4.
[43] Merriman was also the first Chairman of the Van Riebeeck Society, which published out of print historical documents, see Fouche, L., *The Diary of Adam Tas, 1705-1706*, (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1970).
[44] Davenport, T. R. H., *South Africa: A Modern History*, p.336.
[45] [UCT]BC206,67.
[46] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.11, n.11, (June, 1928), p.7.
[47] [UCT]BC206, 155: 1926.01.23, Letter from Kendall to Stuttaford.

possessors of Cape Dutch homesteads in and around Stellenbosch and were both members of the SANS.

Invented Possessions: Stewards of the City as Landed Gentry

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Herbert Baker was able to develop a fairly distinctive Cape Dutch revival style, perhaps more simply called Baker Cape Dutch, that became somewhat popular with wealthy suburban house-owners at the Cape and in Johannesburg. Predominantly double-storied and characterised by twirled chimneys and Baroque gables such as those at Lidcote and Groote Schuur (Figures 1.1 and 3.11), Baker's Cape Dutch perhaps spoke more about his desire for originality in design and the progressive development of style in architecture than about a literal or accurate historical investigation and replication. It also seems fairly plausible to discount Baker Cape Dutch as having originated from any real desire to lay claim to a settler past, and to consider it more the work of an individual opportunist intent on using generous commissions to explore

3.12 Kendall & Morris's design for R. Stuttaford, Lourensford, Somerset West. Source: [UCTimage]BC206, Portfolio of Images.

building as an artistic and creative medium; Baker was more of an aesthete than an ideologue.

When Kendall and Morris took over the reins of Baker's firm after Masey and Baker left Cape Town, the Cape Dutch revival became distinctly more political in its proliferation. A large number of Kendall and Morris' clients were members of the SANS and CUS and were actively involved in Union ideology. This gives support to the proposal that the use of Cape Dutch elements such as gables in their houses was more than simply part of a contemporary stylistic trend. In fact, as Radford has noted, the Cape Dutch revival had a very limited impact on domestic architecture in Cape Town in general.[49]

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[48] [Mag]*The State*, v.3, n.4, (April, 1910), p.526.
[49] Radford, D., 'The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901', p.2.

Aside from the initial enthusiasm generated by Rhodes' example of Groote Schuur, its occurrence seems to have been based on two ideological premises: either as symbols of Union and the possession of a settler past, or as symbols of the life of a landed gentry. The two were not exclusive and in fact complemented each other. Cape Dutch gables became totemistic additions to buildings otherwise clearly Arts & Crafts country houses in their design and detailing. In fact, what was only later classified as the Peninsula type gable,[50] became almost exclusively used, perhaps as a way of recapturing the "pure" gable form supposedly represented by Groot Constantia. That the proponents of the Groot Constantia or Peninsula gable as "prototype" were using it as a political symbol, and were in fact unaware of its future classification to a geographic region, is indicated in its widespread usage in areas beyond the Peninsula.

Lourensford estate (later known as Fleur-du-Cap) was purchased from Sir James Sivewright in 1916 by J.W. Jagger, the leader of the Union Party at the Cape and President of the Cape Town branch of the pro English-immigration lobby, the Overseas League.[51] Jagger commissioned Kendall and Morris in 1924 to design a new house on the Lourensford

3.13 Kendall & Morris's design for R. Stuttaford, Lourensford, Somerset West – ground floor plan. Source: [UCTimage]BC206, 481

estate. Although the design may have been a collaboration between Kendall and Morris, the project seems to have been a point of dispute between the two, leading to Morris leaving the partnership. Kendall was later involved in some alteration work to the drawing room fireplace in 1932, but the construction administration of the house-proper was left to Morris who maintained the contract through arbitration.[52] Consequently the contract files are not to be

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[50] Walton, J., *Homesteads and Villages of South Africa*, p.14.
[51] Gutsche, T., *No Ordinary Woman*, p.342.
[52] [UCT]BC206, 172: 1925.08.18, Letter from C.H. Smith to Morris.

found with the Baker and Kendall archives at the University of Cape Town, leaving only a few copies of the design drawings and contemporary photographs as the basis for analysis.

Given the extent of the project and its broken symmetry, hipped-roofs, expressed chimneys and windows set at the eaves level, the house carries all the characteristics of an Arts & Crafts house designed for a country gentleman (Figures 3.13, 3.12 and 3.14). The maintenance of social hierarchy in the project and the house is fairly obvious to read in the plan as is similarly found in Rhodes' Groote Schuur (Figure 3.15). At Lourensford it is hardly remarkable that the design provides spatial and visual separation of served and servants' areas through the restriction of the latter to the right of the main, symmetrical, double-storied house, although three of the nine servant bedrooms did creep their way into the upper floor of the main house (Figures 3.13 and 3.14). It is also fairly telling to note that the servants' rooms in the service wing all have windows that face onto internal courtyards and are located away from the extensive and elaborately designed back garden. Presumably this was to prevent any "intrusion" of the servants into the backspace with its Palladian follie, which no doubt would have been greatly used.

3.14 Kendall & Morris's design for R. Stuttaford, Lourensford, Somerset West – first floor plan. Source: [UCTimage]BC206, 481.

These design elements and concerns were very typical of an Arts & Crafts country estate in England. A minor element on the sketch plan illustrates the general conflation of race and class that had occurred in the colonies at the time: three small rooms in the servant's wing are tellingly labelled 'Boy,' indicating the status of a black, male servant, and thereby locating the project in the nexus of South Africa's paternalistic and hierarchical race relations. The clearest indication of the house as clear political status is indicated by the inclusion of the Groot Constantia or Peninsula type gable at the front entrance. Whilst it may be argued that Jagger was simply following the stylistic trend of Cape Town's elite, his commitment to the SANS and the CUS suggest that the Cape Dutch gable was used as a

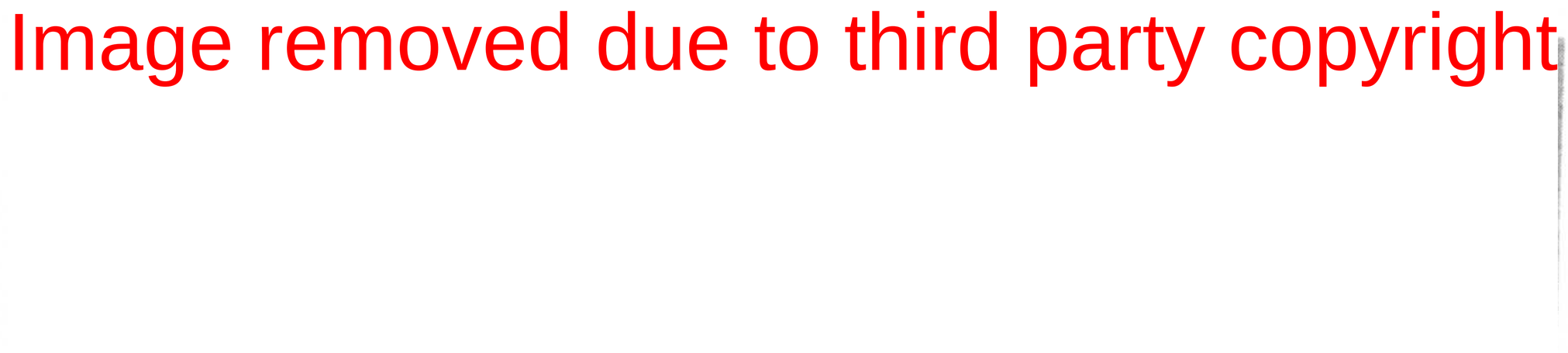
3.15 Baker's Groote Schuur, design for Rhodes. Source: Le Roux, W.J., *Groote Schuur.*

symbol of rootedness and possession of the geography and history of a settler past. Two slave bell-towers can also be noted at the northeast corner of the house.

Many of the observations made regarding Lourensford could be made with regard to Kendall's design of Luncarty, which, in some way, can be seen as a predecessor to Lourensford. Although not on such a grand scale as Lourensford, it carries similar aspirations of presenting itself as the house of a country gentleman (Figure 3.16). In this instance the separation of servant and served spaces is not carried through as clearly as in Lourensford, however, there is a room for a 'boy' with its entrance off a kitchen-yard, whilst the servant's rooms and storage rooms were the only rooms to be located in the attic (Figure 3.17). The house, originally commissioned by Commander Sereld Hay, was in all probability designed by Kendall. Even though the drawings credit Baker as well as Kendall, Baker, who at that stage was in India, would most likely have acted simply as a design consultant on the project. Again, what is striking about the project is the inclusion of the Groot Constantia or Cape Peninsula gable at the entrance and back façade looking out over the garden. Hay was not active in either SANS or CUS circles which suggests that his motivations for including the gable in the house may have not been political and may have come from Kendall.

3.16 Kendall's design for Luncarty, Cape Town. Source: [Mag]*AB*&E September, 1927.

In 1927, Kendall was involved in designing an additional artist's studio space for Edith Struben, Luncarty's new owner, whose father had been a member of the CUS and a treasurer of the SANS, and who herself was a member of the SANS. Kendall spent



3.17 Plan of Kendall's design for Luncarty, Cape Town. Source: [UCTbox]BC206, 95.

considerable time and effort tracking down some 200 Delft tiles to be set around the fireplace adding to the "authenticity" of the home as a Cape Dutch homestead.[53] It was, however, a specific instruction on the part of Ms Struben that confirmed her purchase of Luncarty as part of the possession of original settler history. At the beginning of the design process she wrote to Kendall stating that 'if feasible and possible [I] should like to use my copy of Constantia Cellar Frieze over the fireplace and the rest to accord in treatment with it'.[54] Although the overall feel of the room was not particularly Cape Dutch, the miniaturised moulding of the frieze was indeed inserted, affording Struben the possession of both the history of Groot Constantia and the settler past of its "great men," such as Anton Anreith, the sculptor.

There are many more examples of the Groot Constantia or Cape Peninsula type gable being "attached" to the front façade of new fairly ostentatious and not so ostentatious houses developed in the suburbs of Cape Town and its surrounds. A double storey house on Greenfield Road in Kirstenbosch, designed by Kendall for H.E. Hockly, illustrates this quite clearly as well as making use of fairly typically proportioned, paned and shuttered Cape Dutch style windows on the ground floor, and more Arts & Crafts inspired windows up against the eaves on the first floor (Figure 3.18). The Greenfield house retains the gabled ends characteristic of Cape Dutch homesteads, making a fairly convincing double-storey adaptation of a typical Cape Dutch homestead front façade.

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[53] [UCT]BC206, 95: 1927.04.12, Letter from Kendall to Struben.
[54] *Ibid.*, 1927.01.14, Letter from Struben to Kendall.

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3.18 Kendall's design for H.E. Hockly. Source: [UCTbox]BC206.

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3.19 C.P. Walgate, House in Somerset West, [Mag]*AB*&E, April, 1926.

The same cannot be said of a house designed by Walgate in Somerset West (Figure 3.19). Although its plan roughly resembles the 'H' typical of many old Cape Dutch homesteads and its sash windows seem to have been carefully proportioned and positioned along Cape Dutch lines, its hipped roofs present the Groot Constantia or Peninsula type gable as an unconvincing and somewhat arbitrary addition to the house. Contemporary photographs and descriptions of the interior – its black-stained ceiling beams and picture rails, and its many fireplace alcoves – suggest that the hipped roofs were part of the general Arts & Crafts aesthetic that was being pursued. Although its large planks of yellowwood floorboards suggest more attempts at greater authenticity in the design, the pretences and attempt at possession is to be found in the name given to the house and in a detail on the front façade. Called Stellandal in honour of the Van der Stels, the front gable also bore their coat of arms.[55]

Conclusion

Spurred by the building preservation movement and nationalist sentiment, the *nouveau riche* at the Cape, as mirrored in England, set about purchasing, at the turn of the 19th Century, existing Cape Dutch homesteads or building simulations thereof as signified through Groot Constantia's gable. Possessing Cape Dutch homesteads became a way of possessing the "noble" past that these homesteads were represented as having. Alternatively, Cape Dutch homesteads were also considered to be iconic of the "Home Beautiful" and thus were considered models to be emulated in terms of "proper" housing for middle-class families, whilst simultaneously suggesting a lineage for the middle-class extending back to the original settlement of the Cape. The hierarchical space of these homesteads were also considered as appropriate models for the contemporary society at the Cape, and gave further legitimacy to the exploitative interests of Europeans in South Africa. Furthermore, as a new "landed gentry" (as signified through the Cape Dutch homesteads), the politicians and upper middle-class in the Cape and South Africa were able to literally lay claim to the history and geography of the land of South Africa, and thereby legitimise the project of Empire in South

Africa and Africa beyond. Precisely whilst pretences of high society and civilisation were being made, an extensive and consuming discourse was emerging that began to represent the racially heterogeneous dwellers in the old parts of Cape Town as uncivilised and bestial, making them vulnerable to being dispossessed of the land they occupied. In a similar manner, the old parts of Cape Town were represented as squalid slums, without any aesthetic merit, making them vulnerable to eradication. It is these two considerations that form the next part of this thesis.

[55] [News]*Daily Dispatch* 1929.02.19: 'The Home Beautiful.'

Part Two:

The City and the Allocation of Otherness

4. The City as a Visual Problematic:
Town Planning, Tourism, "Unsightliness" and Slums

> In my short visit to the United States I saw as much as I could of the old colonial buildings, being especially interested to compare them with our old houses in South Africa [...] I looked in vain in New York for any remnant of Dutch influence in the architecture and searched the museums without success for any of the beautiful furniture which is so familiar to us in Cape Colony. [... In New York's high towers] the horizontal lines have been abandoned, and in effect it is all rather, if it is not irreverent to say so, higgeldy piggeldy vertically. There is little attempt in the new buildings to give the steadying effect of cornices or horizontal parapets to the heads of the towers, and they look as though their heads had been torn off or "scalped," leaving the raw edges.[1]
>
> Herbert Baker, 'Notes on my American Visit.'

Introduction

The previous three chapters laid out the idea that the Cape Dutch architecture, and Cape Dutch homesteads in particular, represented and symbolised the location of History, Civilisation and Culture through which White South Africans, and more directly, upper-middle-class English South Africans, were making claims of possession of the land. It should not have gone unnoticed that almost all of this valorising of the Self was located in the countryside, through what was generally considered "high" architectural design. The second part of this thesis turns the focus onto the Cape Town proper, or rather, the discourse and representation of certain parts of the city such as District Six. Once again the recent immigration to South Africa of English architects (and other professionals concerned with the city) frame much of the discourse and representation of Cape Town with concerns largely generated in England, but transferred and transformed at the Cape. The city, notwithstanding the general anti-urban sentiments germane to England at the time, was considered problematic on two counts, namely, the aesthetic and the social. These two conditions have been used to order this second part of the thesis into two chapters. Chapter Five considers how the occupation of the inner city of Cape Town by social and racial Others started to represent the possible undoing of English possession of the city and White possession of the country as a whole and how space and image interacted to produce various identities. In this it is focused on the social space of the city. This chapter, however, focuses more on the concerns voiced by architects on the physical and material qualities of the city itself. I will argue that it was largely elements simply considered to be "ugly" that motivated much of the eventual structuring of the city as a White space. The city, it seemed, was an aesthetic problem, distinctly visual in nature – it had been ever since Victorians such as A.W.N. Pugin, John Ruskin and William Morris had promoted the idea that the essential redemption of the industrial city lay in a return to its picturesque Medieval past. The City

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[1] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.15, n.57 (March, 1930).

Beautiful movement, although chiefly American based,[2] also became a point of reference in Cape Town for the city being treated as an aesthetic problem. For its predominantly English

4.1 "A dirty old Dutch colonial town?" Cape Town, c.1880, showing the harbour and Strand Street on the left leading to the parade and the Castle. Source: Fransen, *A Cape Camera*.

architects, Cape Town, perhaps excluding Adderley Street, appeared more like a dirty old Dutch colonial town,[3] neither capturing the Beaux Arts civic grandeur of the City Beautiful movement, not the picturesque qualities of an English village (Figure 4.1).

As we will see, the emerging tourist industry played a part in the desire to "prettify" Cape Town, whilst the Arts & Crafts' anti-industrial stance gave the use of corrugated iron in particular an immoral bent. The issue of identity, however, comes to a head in the emerging discourse on Old Cape Town and its "slums." Here, the importance given by English architects to the visual aspects of the city fabric, allowed those elements considered to be "ugly" to be conflated with the social and racial Others occupying the structures, making both susceptible to removal and exclusion from the city. Yet, the work of the architects themselves in representing and restructuring the city, can itself be considered part of the representation and restructuring of English identity. It is in the field of town planning that the value the English placed on the aesthetics of the visual is best found, and it was through town planning that they desired to structure the city into an image more suited to their sensibilities. Raymond Unwin's *Town Planning in Practice* clearly promoted the idea of *architects* designing the city into the visual semblance of a picturesque English village, whilst suggesting there was literally no difference between designing a building and designing a

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[2] Wilson, W. H., 'The Ideology, Aesthetics and Politics of the City Beautiful Movement,' in Sutcliffe, A. (eds), *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning, 1800-1914* (London: Mansell, 1980) .

[3] For a description of the urban fabric of Cape Town at the end of the nineteenth century, see [Mag]*SAAE&SJ*, (May, 1907), 'Progress of Architecture in Cape Town since 1876,' by A.G. Howard.

city.[4] Of course, the new field of town planning was also a clear expression of the emerging modernist spirit intent on ordering and sanitising the city. Yet, that ordering tendency was not in itself a simply technicist drive; the search for order was also an aesthetic motivation. It is the aesthetic tendency of the town planning movement that is examined in the first section below.

Background to the Development of Town Planning Movement in Cape Town

The passing of the Town Planning Act in England in 1909 led to the drive for similar legislation in South Africa, whilst the RIBA-sponsored 1910 conference in London brought town planning directly into architects' field of concern. The early efforts to establish town planning as *de rigueur* practice in the Cape, and South Africa in general, were not very fruitful, yet these initial attempts are important to consider as they illustrate the close relations between the architects at the Cape and official bodies interested in the visual appearance of Cape Town. At a public meeting in 1911, Arthur Reid, the president of the Cape Institute of Architects (hereafter CIA), voiced the need for the City to engage in town planning practices.[5] Although not the first South African architect to do so,[6] the meeting is important for this study as it brought the CIA and the Cape Peninsula Publicity Association (hereafter CPPA) into a loose partnership promoting the town planning agenda.[7] The CIA and CPPA had been in close association, thanks to efforts aimed at promoting Cape Dutch architecture as part of the tourist attractions of the Peninsula.[8] Although the CIA worked with the CPPA in promoting the future development of Cape Town's foreshore, there was little public and Council interest in planning its development, and town planning did not receive enough backing from members of the City Council for it to be included in the City Engineer's general practice. At the national level, the town planning oriented Township Bill was debated in parliament in 1912, but was not passed.[9] In 1915, the CIA saw an opportunity to promote town planning through what they saw as its obvious need with the impending unification and amalgamation of the southern suburbs into Cape Town. They adopted the unopposed motion to approach the Improvements and Parks Committee (hereafter I&PC) so that 'the City Council be requested to appoint a Committee of Experts with a view to drawing up a Town Planning Scheme of the whole area under their jurisdiction, particularly with regard to the undeveloped portions thereof'.[10] The CPPA had approached I&PC urging that the Council 'appoint a Town Planning Commission consisting of the best available expert opinion to prepare a scheme for the development of the Cape Peninsula and [Cape] Flats, for a period of years'.[11] The matter was effectively side-tracked by the I&PC whose response was that the City Engineer (hereafter CE) was currently involved in the development of a town planning

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[4] Unwin, R., *Town Planning in Practice. An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs*, (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., 1919), p.xiv.
[5] [News]*CT* 1911.05.22: 'Town Planning.'
[6] See, for example, Methven, C. W., *Presidential Address. South African Association for the Advancement of Science, 1907*, (Cape Town: The Association for the Advancement of Science, 1908)
[7] [News]*CT* 1911.05.22: 'Town Planning.'
[8] [CAmin]A1659 v.1/1: CIA, 1911.07.13.
[9] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.13, n.5, (December, 1929), p.15.
[10] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/3: I&PC,1915.06.01

scheme for Kalk Bay and Muizenberg – hardly the comprehensive scheme the CIA and the CPPA were hoping for. Less than a year later, the South African National Society (hereafter SANS) petitioned the I&PC for the Council to consider the 'preparation of a scheme for the development of the Cape Peninsula and [Cape] Flats,'[12] almost a verbatim copy of the petition by the CPPA.

Clearly the CIA, the CPPA and the SANS were all closely connected, with members from each body being present on the committees of the other. For example, Kendall, Reid and Fallon were the CIA's representatives for the CPPA in 1922,[13] and had been at various stages presidents of the CIA, whilst Kendall had been one of the SANS' most active council members. It is highly significant that the CIA, the CPPA and the SANS all worked in tandem to promote the town planning agenda. All these bodies were to a greater or leaser extent, primarily concerned with the visual appearance of the city. Of course, progressive architects no doubt saw the material benefits of a well-planned city, and both the CPPA and SANS would have welcomed smooth flowing traffic. But the CIA and its architects had a livelihood primarily in making things pretty, the CPPA was intent on presenting the Cape with a pretty image, and the SANS had taken the "beautiful" Cape Dutch homesteads as the dominant component of its preservation portfolio. Even the major promoter of Cape Dutch architecture, W.J. Delbridge, as City Councillor in 1919, tried to gain the support of the Council to promote the inclusion of a town planning clause in the Public Health Bill of 1919,[14] which suggests that the visual appearance of Cape Town lay at the heart of these motivations.

Slowly, the town planning promoters began to win the government bodies over. The Report of the Housing Committee, set up by the central government to investigate the housing crisis unfolding in the country, contained a section on the need for town planning in any of the future housing needs of South Africa. In this, the Housing Committee followed the lead of English motivators of town planning as an integral component of housing provision. Although their main point of reference was Henry Aldrige's practical manual, *The Case for Town Planning*,[15] they did stress that the 'beautifying of towns and streets also comes within the scope of town planning,'[16] as did the preservation of places of historical interest. Even though no real town planning was undertaken at the Cape until the 1930s, there were ways in which development was controlled prior to this. This occurred largely through the I&PC which had the role of overseeing land subdivisions until 1926 whereupon it handed the task over to the Public Health and Building Regulations Committee (hereafter PH&BRC).[17] It took the Slums Act of 1934[18] to require that a comprehensive town-planning scheme for South Africa's major cities be developed and instituted within three years of the Act being passed.

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[11] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/2: I&PC, 1915.04.12.
[12] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/4: I&PC, 1916.04.03.
[13] [CAmin]A.1659 v.1/3: CIA, 1922.06.15.
[14] [CAmin]3/CT 1/4/7/1/1/10: PH&BRC, 1919.01.31.
[15] Aldridge, H. R., *The Case for Town Planning. A Practical Manual for the use of Councillors, Officers, and Others Engaged in the Preparation of Town Planning Schemes*, (London: The National Housing and Town Planning Council, 1915)
[16] [UGov]UG4-1920: Report of the Housing Committee, p.60.
[17] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/15: I&PC,1926.12.13.
[18] [UGov]Act No. 53 of 1934 (Slums Act).

Even the Cape Province's Township Ordinance,[19] promulgated in 1927 did not promote any real town planning projects. Essentially reactive legislation, it required that a Township Board headed by the Surveyor-General should be the controlling authority for considering proposed sub-divisions to property. Yet even at the heart of this seemingly most technicist and bureaucratic of institutions – dealing as it did with title deeds and survey diagrams – lay a concern for aesthetics.

Town Planning and the Desire for the Aesthetic Structuring of the City

Consider a minor example from an article in the *AB&E* on the workings of the Ordinance as penned by the Surveyor-General, A.H. Cornish-Bowden. In the article, Cornish-Bowden explained the importance given the Township Board to control building setbacks from property lines because the dwellings on opposite sides of the street provided a space that 'conveys both to the house owners as well as to those using the streets a sense of openness and freedom, which should be present in a well-planned residential quarter'.[20] Almost as an afterthought he adds the more technicist reason for such setbacks: 'It is also possible for the local authority to secure more ground for the widening of the street at a later date should this become necessary.' Although a minor example, it illustrates that at the very basis of the Township Ordinance, ostensibly aimed at controlling subdivisions, one finds an aesthetic sensibility in operation.

This was not an isolated instance on Cornish-Bowden's part, as the following example may illustrate. Parts of Cape Town had grown, and were still growing, out of a series of subdivisions made from existing larger estates, a process typical of *laissez-faire* development (Figure 4.2). There was very little legislation to control these subdivisions; most structuring of the built environment could only happen through building regulations, whereas property subdivision could be legally secured long before any plans were drawn up and submitted. The Township Ordinance was supposed to deal with this issue and was meant to control property subdivision in an orderly manner. Rather than simply technocratic, though, this consideration was promoted by Cornish-Bowden as a way of 'preventing the continuance of the haphazard methods of land subdivision in this Province, to which are due so much of the inconvenience in traffic and the *unsightly in aspect* from which we suffer to-day,'[21] [emphasis added]. Cornish-Bowden, whilst referring to the success of the Acts of Parliament of Great Britain in the establishment of garden cities and satellite towns goes on to lament '[i]f only such matters had been properly regulated in Cape Town, for instance, for the past 30 or 40 years, what a wonderful and far more beautiful city it would be'.[22] Clearly then, controlled subdivision was intended to offer more than simply the alignment of roads and sewerage runs. Ironically, as early as 1890, nearly 40 years before Cornish-Bowden's article, the Mayor of Cape Town lamented the lack of legislation whereby the Council could

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[19] [PGov] Ordinance 13 of 1927 (Township Ordinance of the Cape Province).
[20] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.13, n.5, (December, 1929), p.19.
[21] *Ibid.*, p.13.
[22] *Ibid.*, p.19.

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4.2 District Six, 1935 aerial photo illustrating *laissez-faire* development. The Castle and its bastions are partly shown at the top. Source: CCC.

'improve irregularly built streets of houses'.[23] And further: 'There are rows and lanes of dirty, and in some instances, dilapidated houses, which might well be improved off the surface of the earth of this City. There are other places where broad healthy streets could be formed if an act existed under which the existing buildings could be cleared away.' Obviously then, there was, and will most probably always be, a gap between what was desired and the inertia needed to be overcome to institute change.

The general disorder in the city fabric resulting from earlier *laissez-faire* development was also highly problematic to the aesthetic sensibilities of the architects who preferred a well-ordered environment, or alternatively, an obviously picturesque one. The piece-meal chaos of areas such as District Six fell between the two, and was essentially a barb in the refined aesthetic sensibilities of "cultured" English architects keen to establish the colonial city as something more than an apology to Western civilisation. At the 1911 public meeting on Town Planning, Arthur Reid, the president of the CIA, spoke of the 'the deplorable results, both from the *aesthetic* and utilitarian point of view, of allowing towns to grow up haphazard'[24] [emphasis added]. As late as 1928 the issue was still prominent; the then president of the CIA, Charles Percy Walgate, was still making public the case for orderly development for aesthetic reasons. The *Cape Argus* reported on the meeting with the following headline: 'Cape Town's need for Town Planning. Haphazard Buildings that are Eyesores. The cry for "Orderly Development." Architects to help the Council'.[25]

Reid's speech also gives us the clearest statement of how an architect of the time conceptualised the City. For Reid 'the interest of a city was centred in the architecture of its buildings, the disposition and grouping of these structures, the width and arrangement of its streets, the area and proportion of its squares and open spaces, and the beauty and comfort of its parks, gardens and approaches generally'.[26] Clearly the city was an aesthetic problem, something that needed to be designed in order to make it beautiful. Although the City Beautiful movement did not dominate the discourse at the time, the sentiments that led to its development around the world clearly played a major part in how those in power approached the city as an aesthetic consideration. Even the CE found himself caught up in the general enthusiasm felt towards the tree planting agenda of the City Beautiful Movement. He felt

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[23] [CCC]Mayoral Minute, 11th August, 1890, p.11.
[24] [News]*CA* 1911.05.20: Editorial.
[25] [News]*CA* 1928.02.22.

sufficiently swayed from the normal technocratic pursuits of his calling to state in a newspaper article in 1916 that he understood 'the splendid prospects the Peninsula offers for the planning of a beautiful city. Its natural beauty is unrivalled, and the present generation owes much to the splendid work of the old settlers in creating fine avenues and encouraging extensive tree planting'.[27]

Writing on the need for town planning often included references to the aesthetic sensibilities historical figures such as Simon van der Stel supposedly possessed in establishing the early towns of the Cape in a picturesque manner. Indeed, Van der Stel was revered as the country's original town planner, and especially – as J.M. Solomon observed – one who planned in the now fashionable 'grand manner'.[28] Gerard Moerdyk, in a lecture given to the Pretoria Rotary Club on town planning, claimed that 'there had been no system of layout at all in Cape Town since the days of Simon van der Stel, who had planted beautiful oaks, and there was now lacking what might have been a unique advertisement at the gateway of South Africa'.[29] A. Allen, in an address to the Benoni Rotary club, lamented that:

> [T]he great importance of town planning to the nation has not been realised by this generation in South Africa [...]If one looks at the excellent example set us by men like Van der Stel and others at the beginning of civilisation in South Africa, it is not only amazing but it is to the everlasting disgrace of the present generation, and more particularly to those men in high offices, who have, even in our day, caused some of the most wonderful works of nature, some of the most beautiful natural scenery to be found in the world, the value of which it would be impossible to arrive at, to be hacked about, ruined and treated like muck heaps.[30]

Many enthusiasts were ignorant or simply ignored the fact that Van der Stel had planted oak trees due to the lack of indigenous trees suitable for construction timber at the Cape, yet even those who were perhaps aware of this such as the Public Works Department Secretary, Lewis Mansergh, revered him for the arboreal 'benefits of which we reap to-day.'[31] Van der Stel was even given a voice of approval on J.M. Solomon's design for the University of Cape Town's new buildings in 1919 when England's architect of the day, Edwin Lutyens, reportedly stated: 'It is suitable to the country and would be accepted by Simon van der Stel.'[32] Whilst Van der Stel was riding the wave of retrospective popularity due to increasing nationalist sentiments, it was undoubtedly the broad boulevards of the Dutch colonial streets and settlements that fitted within the aesthetic of the City Beautiful movement and led to his popularity with those espousing the town planning agenda.

Privileging the Object over the Social: Town Planner as 'Setter of Architectural Gems'

Reid's speech of 1911 also confirmed the general privileging of the aesthetic and utilitarian aspects of the city over the social or lived space. As was mentioned in the Introduction,

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[26] [News]*CT* 1911.05.22: 'Town Planning.'
[27] [News]*CT* 1916.06.15: 'Town Planning for the City.'
[28] [News]*Transvaal Leader* 1914.02.23: 'Architecture in South Africa.'
[29] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.12, n.8, (March 1929), p.3.
[30] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.16, n.62, (June, 1931), p.101.
[31] [News]*CT* 1916.08.14: 'The Tavern of the Sea.'
[32] Cited in Gutsche, T., *No Ordinary Woman*, p.351.

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much of Old Cape Town had been abandoned to the urban poor and recent immigrants to the Cape. The *stoeps* (raised entrance verandas taking up the pavement), as vestiges of the Cape Dutch period, were, and in some cases, still are, well used places of interaction with the street by residents of Old Cape Town. Reid was, however, happy to report that these 'old-fashioned pavements have almost entirely been removed'. This was largely due to Regulation No.37 promulgated on the 14th June 1899, although there had been moves to have the *stoeps* removed almost 50 years before then.[33] Certainly the *stoeps* were inconvenient interruptions in the pavements of the city as the occasional remaining few still are (Figure 4.3), but it does seem reasonable to suggest that it was an aesthetics of order that lay at the heart of moves like this aimed at what Reid called 'rectifying the mistakes [...] of former years'. This is not to say that Reid was anti-preserving the Cape Dutch past. In fact, at his Presidential address a few months before, he had voiced his concern that '[m]ost of the old buildings had been swept away, but much remained in and around the city that the exigencies of modern requirements would threaten, unless steps be taken to check the vulgar and wanton hand of the spoiler, for he had no head, eyes, or heart'.[34] As we will see below, this preservation impulse, up until the 1940s,[35] was directed almost entirely toward the building as object in which the surrounding urban fabric was a hindrance to the aesthetic potential of "beautiful" buildings – the urban fabric of a city was itself not considered worthy of preservation.

4.3 *Stoeps* as social space. Source: Loubser, *De Achterbuurten van Kaapstad.*

Chapter Two illustrated the tendency to consider buildings as "beautiful" objects, where the gables of Cape Dutch homesteads tended to be isolated from the rest of the buildings in graphic representations. In a similar manner, town planning was for many architects necessarily an aesthetic undertaking, essentially aimed at focusing the sight of a viewer on an architectural "gem." In a paper given at the Conference on Imperial Health held in London by the Victoria League, Herbert Baker promoted this viewpoint very clearly: 'In many of our cities the most beautiful buildings lose their value for want of design and orderly arrangement in their surroundings. The town planner is the setter of architectural gems.'[36] The problem was, architectural "gems" were often located within the dense fabric of cities,

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[33] Radford, D., 'The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901', p.17.
[34] [CAmin]A1659 v.1/1: CIA, 1911.03.23.
[35] Du Plessis, I. D., *The Cape Malays*, (Cape Town: [unknown], 1944); Truluck, T. F. and Cook, G., 'Preservation of the Bokaap, Cape Town: Changes in Attitudes and Actions' in *Contree*, v.29, n.(91), p.21.
[36] [News]*CT* 1914.06.18: 'Town Planning.'

thereby limiting the distance by which these "gems" could be adequately viewed. In a nod towards clearing cities of the dense spaces of old neighbourhoods Baker goes on to declare that 'the facades of buildings are seldom seen as the designer intended. In looking along a street the perspective is so sharp that it is only the simplest architectural features that have any value, and these only, if they are not lost as is too often the case, in a riot of wasteful ornament.' Some ten years later, Harold Porter, Johannesburg's Medical Officer of Health and advocate for town planning, voiced a similar sentiment at a paper read at the first Union Congress of Architects and Quantity Surveyors held in Johannesburg from the 3rd to the 8th of December 1928. Town planning should, he said, consider people's 'disgust at finding important public buildings wrongly placed on sites where they cannot be seen to the best advantage, and the enthusiasm for fine buildings nobly placed'.[37]

4.4 Town planning proposal's impact on the Old Supreme Court / Slave Lodge indicated in black, 1934. Source: [CAbox]3/CT-4/2/1/1/1325.

This is not to suggest that the stewards and citizens of Cape Town valued any civic building, especially those from the Cape Dutch period. A case in point was the Old Supreme Court, originally the slave lodge of the Dutch East India Company. Sitting beyond the general line of buildings and pavement to its north, the building presented a hindrance to the free flow of traffic up Adderley Street. Consequently, in 1924 it was proposed to demolish it, which caused a major debate to rage in the papers. Although the SANS as a body did not act to save the building, individual members wrote to the press in an attempt to influence the public into preserving it, especially the hall designed by Thibault.[38] Some members of the public such as 'Mons' expressed the opinion in a letter to the editor of the *Cape Times* that it was 'simply an obstructing eyesore, not a thing of beauty by any means,'[39] whilst another, who signed 'For a Brighter Cape Town' suggested that it was best to 'Clear away the unsightly building, make an open central square, and show up our Houses of Parliament; then it would be something that our fellow-citizens would be proud of'.[40] In the end the building was set back 44 feet – a compromise that seemed to satisfy most, even if the 1934 proposal still aimed at its complete removal (Figure 4.4). The case of the Old Supreme Court / Slave Lodge, is an example that illustrates that it was not just any old, large civic building that deserved preservation, and occasionally lesser valued ones were sacrificed to allow bigger, more important buildings such as the Houses of Parliament, their room to be seen as objects in the round.

This section has illustrated the general attitude of architects of the time to the fabric of the city, namely, that it was something to be ordered, not only for convenience, but also on

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[37] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.13, n.52 (December, 1928), p.187.
[38] [News]*CT* 1924.10.01: 'The Old Supreme Court.'
[39] [News]*CT* 1924.10.06: Letter to Editor, Signed "Mons."

the basis of visual considerations. It is to the effects of the consideration of the tourist industry on the structuring of Cape Town that we now turn.

Sight and Vistas: Tourism and The City as a Visual Product

The first real attempt to market the city as a tourist destination came about in 1908 through the Council's Special Committee which motivated for and received £500 for the production of a guidebook advertising the city.[41] The CPPA took over the production of the guidebook with the Council contributing funds to it and with the longstanding Town Clerk, J.R. Finch who had written the first guidebook continuing as author of subsequent editions.[42] The advertising of the Cape Peninsula itself gained in importance when the I&PC adopted a proposal by African Films Trust Ltd. to produce a short film to be shown around South Africa, and a shorter coloured film to be distributed overseas 'throughout the principle countries of the world'.[43] In fact, two films of the Cape Peninsula were exhibited at the Empire Exhibition in Wembley in 1924.[44] A few years after the publication of their first guidebook, the Council had teamed up with the South African Railway Publicity Department and began production of a co-sponsored book promoting South Africa as a tourist and immigration destination.[45] Efforts to co-ordinate the advertising of South Africa culminated in the Overseas Advertising Conference held in Johannesburg on the 24th and 25th November, 1919.[46] It should be noted that these advertising campaigns were not only intended to attract tourists to South Africa, but also immigrants, especially de-mobbed soldiers at the end of the First World War.[47]

As has been mentioned, the Cape Town itself was being promoted as a tourist destination through various advertising campaigns. At the heart of this literature and other representations was the idea of Cape Town as a gateway, not only to the country as a whole but also to the rest of Africa. In 1925, the architect A. Allen published an article titled 'How I Would Rebuild Cape Town' in which the opening statement is 'Cape Town is and always will be the entrance gate to South Africa'.[48] He goes on to voice his concern that money is being spent on overseas advertising but not on the 'entrance gate' itself: '[a]nd so the entrance gate to South Africa remains a discredit to the country'. Whilst the connection of the city to the foreshore and the harbour were seen as important components in correcting this condition, especially due to the arrival of visitors from the sea, the overall presentation of the city and especially District Six was also a cause for concern. The visual presence of the slums was so problematic to those with an eye on marketing the city that ten years earlier the body in charge of Cape Town's tourism promotion, the CPPA, had made overtures to the PH&BRC asking for their increased efforts to liase with the Railways Department so as to reduce fares for the working classes thereby making working class satellite-suburbs more

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[40] [News]*CT* 1924.10.01: 'The Old Supreme Court.
[41] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/1/1/6: Special Committee, 1908.11.03; Finch, J. R., *The Cape of Good Hope*.
[42] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/6: I&PC, 1918.06.10.
[43] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/1: I&PC, 1914.07.31.
[44] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/13: I&PC, 1924.12.08.
[45] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/1: I&PC, 1913.09.29; [News]CT 1919.11.21: Editorial.
[46] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/8: I&PC, 1919.12.08.
[47] *Ibid.*; [CCC]Mayoral Minutes, 9th September, 1920, p.50.
[48] [News]*CA* 1925.03.21: Magazine Section, 'How I would rebuild Cape Town.'

feasible and thereby ridding the city of its slums.[49] But if slums were to be removed then the question remained as to where the new dwellings would be located. Part of the efforts to promote Cape Town as a tourist destination revolved around the development of the car and the motorist.[50] A number of scenic roads had been completed which made motoring the countryside a viable sightseeing option. Awareness of the importance of the visual presentation of the city and its suburbs was highlighted in 1928 by the Town Clerk at a meeting to consider the Nieuwe Molen housing scheme, which he felt 'would not be a disfigurement in the drive from the Town to the Southern Suburbs'.[51] This concern for the location of housing schemes or settlements in relation to the vistas of the city was not a new or unusual consideration. When Cape Town's first residentially segregated Native location of Ndabeni was under consideration in 1900, William Hare, a brickfield employer, contrary to the interests of his business, considered the establishment of a location behind his brickfield at the foot of Devil's Peak a bad idea because: 'we have the back of the mountain to look nice, and putting such accommodation there would make it unsightly'.[52] Similarly, in a lecture given to the Pretoria Rotary Club on town planning, Gerard Moerdyk lamented the fact that '[t]he most beautiful sites in Cape Town were disfigured by shanties inhabited by coloured people'.[53]

It was not just the stewards of Cape Town that were intent on situating where and how people lived according to the vision and vistas of tourism and visual aesthetics. The *South African Architectural Record* (hereafter *SAAR*) published a summary of the lecture given on 23 October 1930 under the auspices of the Transvaal Town Planning Association at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, in which Harold Porter had this to say of tourists arriving in Johannesburg from Cape Town:

> And then they got in a train to come to Johannesburg, and their first impression of our City was from the railway embankments at Doornfontein, a repellant vista of washing, garages, tin hovels and thousands of braziers befouling the atmosphere. "It is a festering sore in Johannesburg, and we keep it," exclaimed the lecturer. "This slum should be tackled in earnest."[54]

Some 20 years earlier, E.H. Waugh, the future CE of Johannesburg, and the then President of the South African Branch of the Society of Architects in London, had this to say: 'There is not a single street in Johannesburg which affords an artistic, or even satisfactory vista; in fact, practically all of them end in what is nothing more or less than slumdom.'[55]

J. Brown, the editor of the *AB&E*, saw fit to criticise the advertising campaigns as evidence of the preference of cities to ignore the slums rather than deal with them. What is interesting in this excerpt from his editorial on the matter is the way he almost reduces the

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[49] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/7: PH&BRC, 1915.11.01.
[50] Cape Peninsula Publicity Association, *The Motorists' Paradise*.
[51] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/13: H&EC, 1928.05.10.
[52] [CAbox]NA457: CNL: William Hare.
[53] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.12, n.8, (March 1929), p.3.
[54] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.15, n.60, (December, 1930), p.125.
[55] [Mag]*AA*, v.1, n.6, (November, 1912), p.123.

housing problem to an aesthetic one where the 'model dwellings' intended to replace the slums form part of the overall production of the city as an aesthetic object:

> Due care is, of course, taken that slum areas are left out of the pictures, but, perhaps, an advertisement would be attended with better results if any Municipality found itself in the position to announce that it had cleared out these overcrowded hovels, lock, stock and barrel, replacing the unsightly eyesores with model dwellings, which would ensure health, comfort and cleanliness. We remember some years ago standing on the steps of the magnificent *Palais de Justice* in Brussels, where in the immediate neighbourhood acres of old houses were being cleared away in order to enhance the beauty of the neighbourhood and provide suitable environment for the classic structure.[56]

The idea of slums being cleared to increase the "beauty" of the city was a sentiment echoed in Gerard Moerdyk's lecture given to the Pretoria Rotary Club on town planning. An article published in the *AB&E* reported the following:

> Dealing with the lay-outs of several of the great towns of the world, Mr. Moerdyk instanced that in Philadelphia whole blocks had been razed to the ground at stupendous cost, and replaced by beauty spots. The byelaws in South Africa, however, allowed for the erection of rows of Greek shops which gave one a nightmare every time one walked down the street - (laughter).[57]

Apart from the racist jibe, it seemed to be far more important to Moerdyk that the city appeared to be beautiful rather than lived-in and used. Town planning was a way of achieving this ideal. Using the examples of the Town Clerk and Moerdyk in the above paragraph, it is useful to point out that the word "disfigured" occurs fairly regularly during the period of study. Contained within many of the texts around slums and Old Cape Town is the idea of the city and the Peninsula as a body, a living organism that was somehow being made hideous. This use of metaphors that present the city as a pristine and beautiful object requiring vigilant maintenance needs to be explored briefly.

Along with "disfigured," the phrase 'blot on our city,' or variations thereof, was often used in drumming up support to rid the city of slum areas.[58] Not only does the phrase bring to mind a clean white sheet being ruined by messy ink, but it also reinforces the notion of the spread of disease and infection, both literal and social, a major point of consideration in the following chapter. The disfigurement needing an excision, and the blot needing cleaning, are both indicative of the general consideration of the city as a visual product. That the 'World's War on Slums,' as the title of an article in the *AB&E* in 1934 put it, was partly motivated by a concern for the eradication of a visually disturbing part of the city from an otherwise beautiful visage is suggested in the article:

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[56] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.1, n.2, (September, 1917), p.28.
[57] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.12, n.8, (March, 1929), p.3.
[58] [News]*CT* 1918.11.01: 'The City's Housing Problem;' [News]*CT* 1934.11.03: 'Slum Owners Alarmed;' [Mag]*SAAR*, v.19, n.10, (October, 1934) p.254.

> In Wales, Scotland, Ireland, in Germany, France, Austria, in Chile and Bombay - even in Turkey where Mustafa Kemal Pashais rebuilding the nation from cellar to roof, slum areas form an unsightly blot on the face of civilisation.[59]

Just what elements constituted the 'unsightly blot on the face of civilisation,' and how these gave fuel to the restructuring of the city as a White space, is the concern of the last two sections of this chapter.

'Inefficient Metallic Monstrosity:' Corrugated Iron and "Other" Materials

It is no exaggeration to say that corrugated iron was generally considered by the main architects of the time to be the most abhorrent material ever fashioned. Frank Kendall, partner in Herbert Baker's firm and President of the CIA in 1914, during an address on farm architecture, stated that corrugated iron was 'on a par with a plague of locusts – one of the worst things in the country'.[60] Kendall went on to establish its negative association with transience and its illegitimacy for use in what he notably calls a *home*: 'For pioneers and the like it has its legitimate use, but for serious minded people making a permanent home, it should not be considered when anything better is at all possible.'[61] The former president of the CIA and regular contributor to the *AB&E*, W.J. Delbridge, penned an article called 'The Corrugated Curse,' having this to say: 'Cursed be the makers and users of galvanised corrugated iron. Ugly, temperature conducting, temper provoking, inefficient metallic monstrosity – avaunt.'[62] Delbridge was possibly the author of an article a year before in which corrugated iron was lamented as the 'shiny manifestation of a commercialism that outrages both Art and Nature'.[63] The article goes on to echo Kendall's earlier sentiment about the materials association with unsettled and transience, but adds a dash of nationalism to the mix: 'We are growing old enough, as a people, and settled enough, as communities, to make endeavours towards forgetting the era of the iron roof and the concomitant cast-iron pillars and balustrading which were the signs of a community that was neither settled nor proud. Let us celebrate our growing-up by deleting the mean roofs that menace our civic and individual pride.' In the logic of architects associated with the Arts & Crafts movement, ridding the landscape of corrugated iron and other industrial castings was a moral and patriotic effort that would symbolise and consolidate the maturing of a nation.

The general disdain for the material was not limited to architects. Corrugated iron was considered so offensive that it usually had to be either removed, or covered up. When asked to respond to the CE's concern over the erection of a 18' x 12' x 8' summer house in the yard of her property, Mrs Wyndham Clampett resolved to 'avoid the unsightly appearance of the corrugated iron roof [by covering] the same with spars so as to give the structure a rustic appearance'.[64] Yet if a wood and iron shed was out of sight it was also likely to be ignored. Consider, for example, the CE's report on an application to insert double doors into a

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[59] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.18, n.5, (December, 1934), p.6.
[60] [News]The Journal, Grahamstown: 'Farm Architecture,' 1913.05.15.
[61] [News]The Journal, Grahamstown: 1913.05.15
[62] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.13, n.10, (May 1930), p.3.
[63] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.12, n.12, (July 1929), p.5.
[64] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/14: PH&BRC, 1921.10.25

boundary wall in Observatory to allow the owner to gain access to a wood-and-iron motorcycle shed. The CE had no objections on account of the shed being 'hidden from public view'.[65] A few years later, and probably in response to the shortage of houses in the Peninsula, the Medical Officer of Health (hereafter MOH), was willing to ignore a complaint from the owners and occupiers of property in Landsowne district as sent from the Provincial Secretary, and concerning the erection of a 'two roomed iron house under flat roof, the sheets of iron being placed horizontally instead of vertically'.[66] The MOH responded with the following:

> If kept in repair and occasionally painted there is no reason why they should become an eyesore or prejudicial to better class houses. Also that to preserve their agreeable appearance, no unsightly wind screens are erected around them to protect vegetables etc. grown on the plots.[67]

It seemed, that in the time of a housing crisis, corrugated iron could be tolerated when carefully managed – a consideration examined more closely in Chapter Seven. Nevertheless, the idea of the public view was not a minor element in the evaluation of what could remain in the cityscape, especially when considering corrugated iron. In defence of the sheds owned by a Mr Wintle in Woodstock, Annie Bull wrote to the CE stating that 'anyone travelling from Newlands to Capetown, as I do, would see that there are many greatly more disreputable looking sheds especially in the Woodstock area in full view of the train'.[68] And then in his own defence Wintle wrote that he could not 'carry on my business without them. And why is it that I am picked upon is more than I can fathom for there are many other people within a stones throw from my office whom have got wood and iron sheds and in several cases much more an eyesore than mine and in sight of the main streets, which mine are not'.[69] The production of the city as a visual object to be seen from the transport of a train or a motorcar was seemingly more important in this case than the processes of industrial production.

'Unsightliness' as a Category for the Removal of Otherness

As instanced in the examples above, corrugated iron was generally considered to be "unsightly" or an "eyesore." These two words were not, however, limited to this particular material. In fact, they appear regularly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, within a wide range of archival sources such as newspapers, magazines and official records, and refer to a wide range of materials and visual conditions. Most often the words "unsightly" and "eyesore" appear in letters of complaint from home-owners and rate-payers regarding the presence of dwellings they deemed undesirable and out of keeping with the neighbourhood. In many instances, these complaints were motivated by the self-interest of protecting one's house as a financial investment whose value could be depleted through the presence of an

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[65] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/13: PH&BRC, 1921.06.15
[66] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/22: PH&BRC, 1925.02.18.
[67] *Ibid.*
[68] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/27: PH&BRC, 1926.12 13.

"unsightly" structure or the proximity of racial or social Others. Whether or not middle class municipal ratepayers were happy to have neighbours of another skin-colour living next door to them – as long as their houses were of a similar standard – is doubtful. The point that needs to be made is that both the racist attitudes endemic to the period, and the dominance of the aesthetics of the visual, relied on essentially visual markers for exclusion; skin colour was as much a sign of difference as the "unsightly" structures were. In fact it was the conflation of these two visual aspects that helped produce the identity of Cape Town's urban poor as Other, effectively furthering their removal from the city and helping institute the racial segregation of the city.

The minutes of the City of Cape Town's PH&BRC shows considerable evidence of "unsightliness" as a legitimate cause for exclusion or removal of both people and edifice from the cityscape. Although not specifically written into the building regulations, the word is often used as a catchall when a building or dwelling was deemed inappropriate. Consider the report from the CE concerning a wood and iron structure measuring 10' x 5' x 7' and 'constructed as a sleeping apartment by a Chinaman at Westoe Farm, Strubens Field, Mowbray'.[70] This dwelling was cited as being in contravention of building regulations No.826, due to a lack of submitted drawing for approval, and No.962, which concerned buildings in a *structural* condition prejudicial to the property in or the inhabitants of a neighbourhood. Given that the dwelling was on a farm it seems unlikely that it would have caused anyone or any adjacent buildings damage. It is fair, therefore, to assume (and as the report itself says) that it was quite simply because 'the structure [was] very unsightly and prejudicial to property in the neighbourhood'[71] that the dwelling was considered problematic and removed. A few years before the consolidated building regulations of 1920 were enacted, the PH&BRC had visited the seaside suburb of Bakoven, as the dwellings of a Mr C. Goslett and his employees were deemed to be in a 'very untidy and unsightly condition,'[72] and this was enough to have them removed.

4.5 Native dwellings, hybrid materials. Source: [UGov]34-1914, Report of the Tuberculosis Commission

Many dwellings in informal settlements that were hidden and out of view were put together out of a variety of materials that came to hand. It was the hybrid and disordered use of materials out of which these dwellings were made that was condemned and was one of their aspects that made them problematic and necessarily mapped. This hybridity was also a condition found in many locations across the country and was understood to relate to the

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[69] *Ibid.*
[70] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/13: PH&BRC, 1921.06.10.
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/8: PH&BRC, 1916.09.27.

condition of 'semi-civilisation' brought about with the change from 'barbarity'.[73] In contrast to the idealised life of rural Natives it was presented in the Tuberculosis Report of 1914 that in locations 'generally the dwellings are mere shanties, often nothing more than hovels, constructed out of bits of old packing case lining, flattened kerosene tins, sacking and other scraps and odds and ends. They are put on bare ground, higgledy-piggledy, without any sort of order, often propped up one against another'[74] (Figure 4.5). As such, these dwellings were inevitably condemned through not only the hybridity of materials used, but also through the hierarchical status of the materials involved.

Municipal Structuring of the Appearance of Old Cape Town

The dominance of the visual in the assessment of a dwelling also made its impact on parts of Old Cape Town. In 1917, the MOH for Cape Town recommended that the premises of 181 Hanover Street and 38 Aspeling Street be purchased as part of the funds provided for the prevention and relief of overcrowding. The reasons given: 'The buildings were in a most dilapidated condition, and had been an eyesore for years.' And further: 'The purchase and demolition of the properties would not only remove insanitary premises, but would be a decided street improvement.'[75] Of course the idea of "street improvements" had long made its impact on the urban spaces of Britain's cities, and in many ways what was happening at in Cape Town was a reflection for what was motivated as "civic pride."[76]

In 1915, around the time of the amalgamation of the southern suburbs into the municipality of Cape Town proper, William Black, as President of the CIA, suggested that 'we should strongly advocate compulsory repair, renovation, systematic and regular painting and a general clean up' as part of revised building regulations.[77] And further that, 'In Paris and many other beautiful cities the authorities compel all owners to paint and clean their buildings periodically.' Whilst lime washing would have helped prevent the ingress of insects such as cockroaches into the plaster cracks of the older buildings, it is clear that Black was envisaging a prettified Cape Town.

This idea of maintenance and appearance over structural intervention was echoed at a Council meeting discussing the overcrowding issue in 1918. Councillor Mr. Buchanan was recorded as saying that 'there was something even more important than the building of houses, and that was educating people to look after the houses'.[78] Perhaps he did consider it important to maintain the structure and fabric of the building as an investment in the city's infrastructure. However, it would not be incorrect to suggest that the disgust at visual dilapidation could have prompted such a response. In a letter to the editor of the *Cape Argus*, W.M.B. Taylor, Secretary of the Ratepayer's Association for Wards 6 and 7, demanded that 'our City Fathers get a move on and bring a regulation into force to compel

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[73] [UGov]34-1914, Report of the Tuberculosis Commission, p.107.
[74] *Ibid.*, p.126.
[75] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/9: PH&BRC, 1917.11.08.
[76] Smith, P. J., 'Planning as Environmental Improvement: Slum Clearance in Victorian Edinburgh,' in Sutcliffe, A. ed. (eds), *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning, 1800-1914* (London: Mansell, 1980) .
[77] [News]*CT* 1915.06.24: 'Cape Town and its Building Regulations.'
[78] [News]*CT* 1918.11.01: 'The City's Housing Problem.'

landlords to keep the inside and outside of their properties in a proper condition [...] If there was a regulation brought into force it would stop the breeding of germs and add to the beauty of the slums'.[79] No doubt this was an unintentionally ironic statement. These examples help illustrates that the issue was not necessarily how slum dwellers lived, but how their homes looked that was part of the rationale for exclusion and removal of Others and Other-spaces from the city.

It was with the Slums Act of 1934[80] that concerted efforts were made to clear parts of Old Cape Town. Leading up to the implementation of the Act was the problem as to what exactly constituted a slum – precisely the kind of questions that the Act was meant to clear up. As we will see in the following chapter, there was a fairly large amount of confusion in the minds of the stewards of the city over whether the building, or the inhabitants, was the problem constituting the definition of the slum, and more often than not the two were simply conflated. At the heart of the Act lay a set of conditions that were considered to be scientifically quantifiable, thereby resolving this confusion. If these conditions were not satisfactorily met, then the premises could quite simply be declared a slum and thereby eventually be demolished. Two of these were the volume of air space per person, and the segregation of sexes for anyone over the age of 12. Dr Abdurahman, the only "coloured" member of the Council and elected through the District Six constituency, found the proposed Act highly problematic, and, in a debate on the matter pointed to a contradiction in the thinking of the Act. He asked: '[i]s overcrowding a reason for demolishing a house?'[81] to which his fellow Councillor M.J. Adams replied: 'All we require is power – which I say we already have – to compel people to keep their houses clean.' Clearly, Adams had missed the point that Abdurahman was making, namely, that the Slums Act located the defining characteristic of a slum with its use and not the building itself. Adams' comment illustrates the common understanding that the slums were simply an ugly presence in the city, and like a blemish on a face, needed some cosmetic colouring and cleansing to eliminate the condition. A year later, Abdurahman asked another cutting question stemming from the proposed Act and his understanding of the problems facing his poor constituency: 'How, asked Dr Abdurahman, can a man with nine children, and earning £1 7s. 6d. a week, segregate the sexes?'[82] For Abdurahman, the slum problem was not to be located with either the buildings or the people living there but with the exploitative employers of unskilled and semi-skilled labourers.

The Slums Act was passed in 1934 with powers to demolish being given to municipalities. The MOH and CE set about investigating and motivating for certain dwellings, and other building types to be declared slums based largely on the scientific aspects of the Act. But the idea of visual presentation was so dominant that it lingered into the first few years of the implementation of the Act. One of the most telling records of this can be found in the minutes of the Slum Clearance Special Committee (hereafter SCSC) which contain the

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[79] [News]*CA* 1918.10.30: Letter to the Editor, 'Well's Square.'
[80] [UGov]Act 53, 1934, (Slums Act).
[81] [News]*CT* 1932.04.05: 'Cape Town's Slum Evils.'

assessment reports of both the MOH and the CE as well as the interviews of owners as required under the Slums Act of 1934. At least in the first few years of the implementation of the Act, the MOH and the CE, undoubtedly, considered buildings that *looked* like slums to be slums, or at least desired to have them removed from the city. Aside from the more scientifically rigorous definitions noted above, their reports often referred to the general 'dilapidated appearance' as one of the reasons for the move to have the premises declared a slum.[83] Sometimes the reports and evidence simply state: 'the building presents a neglected and unsightly appearance.'[84]

The evidence dealing with the properties of Max Gurland located in Wynberg are particularly illuminating in this regard. The owner's legal representative, perhaps aware of the occasional subjective and aesthetic motivations of the MOH, CE and other city representatives through having defended other owners' buildings, confronted the Town Planning Assistant:

> Mr Collings is not going into any specific details, is that because you have come to the conclusion that from the general appearance of the houses they constitute slums?[85]

Notwithstanding a set of less than convincing rejoinders by the town planning asssistant, the dwellings were eventually declared to be slums.[86] When defending an attack by the owner's legal representative over his motivation for declaring a building a slum because of its balcony being 'dilapidated, dirty and unsightly,' the MOH stated: 'I have examined it and it is ugly',[87] as if that would suffice.

Whilst it is not my intention to go into the processes of slum clearances in this chapter, it is appropriate to note the minor interventions of the CE and MOH in restructuring the appearance of some of these dwellings. In order for a dwelling or a building to avoid being declared a slum, the owner was allowed a three month period in which to attend to an itemised schedule prepared by the CE in conjunction with the MOH, a typical element of which was that external plaster walls were to be 'steel trowelled true and smooth'.[88] Although this was not categorical evidence that the external appearance of buildings were to be remodelled simply for aesthetic reasons, it does substantiate the idea that this was an important part of the slum clearance program. That many of the buildings were perhaps from the mid-nineteenth century is suggested by the fact that many were constructed of sun-dried bricks and clay mortar. An example is 110 Church Street, where the schedule notes that '[t]he plaster to the front elevation is rough and must have a skimming coat'.[89] In contrast to the reverence by which the rough plaster of Cape Dutch homesteads were held, this is

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[82] [News]*CT* 1933.09.04: 'De-Slumming.'
[83] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/13/1/1, SCSC: 1934.10.22, evidence concerning No.115 Castle Street.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/13/1/1, SCSC: 1935.09.23.
[86] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/13/1/3, SCSC: 1935.12.02, Appeal submitted by Barnett Gurland.
[87] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/13/1/1, SCSC: 1935.02.25, Evidence concerning No.36a/38 Constitution Street.
[88] *Ibid*: 1935.02.11, Work schedule for 23 & 25 Wells Square.
[89] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/13/1/3, SCSC: 1936.02.08.

perhaps a clear example of the anti-urban sentiments of the stewards of the city, keen on bringing order and regularity to "unsightly" neighbourhoods.

The concern for the visual presentation of the city was not limited to consideration of dwellings but also anything that was seen from streets or even trains. Council members and members of the CPPA often expressed concern over the existence of advertising hoardings in the city. These were almost without fail considered 'unsightly'.[90] This was not limited to suburban developments. The city itself was nominally restructured through an added regulation that does illustrate the extent to which the stewards of the city wanted to control its appearance of. The regulation was an attempt to control balconies and *stoeps* and what was stored on them, although this was legally limited to those balconies and *stoeps* projecting beyond the property line into the street as proscribed by the Council.[91] As the minutes of the H&EC record, the balconies were 'used for storage purposes [and] are detrimental to the public interest tending to obstruct the clear view down streets and will give the thoroughfares of the City a most untidy appearance'.[92] The regulation as promulgated included the hanging of laundry on a balcony or *stoep* without a permit as reason for being fined five pounds. Although most of the licences issued dealt with the storage of boxes on balconies, at least up to 1931,[93] there are a few examples of applications for hanging laundry. Consider, for example, the application of G. Denton regarding the balcony at 56 Hanover Street where the case was made that there was nowhere else to hang the laundry, as the dwelling was a tenement. Although permission was granted, it is crucial to note that the Acting MOH, A.W. Reid, at first refused to recommend approval. Exactly what objections the MOH could have had, aside from a concern for structuring the appearance of the city, are not readily at hand.

Another minor example can be given of the MOH going beyond his calling as a doctor through his concern for the appearance of the city. The MOH saw fit to report that during an inspection of Rondebosch common as used by the military 'a large number of slop and refuse buckets and wood and iron structures still existent at the common'.[94] That these were unsanitary was not the issue but rather that they were 'very unsightly, and steps should be taken to have them cleared away.'

The final section of this chapter is, in a way, a connection between this chapter and the next, as it deals with issues related to the problematic appearance of the city as defined through the physical presence of Natives in the space of the city.

The Visible Presence of Natives in the City

In the minutes of evidence given at the Commission on a Native Location for Capetown[95] (hereafter CNL), concern was voiced over the physical presence of Native within the space of the city, which in the view of one of the interlocutors had already been 'turned into a

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[90] See for example [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/1: I&PC, 1914.03.30 and [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/6: 1918.08.12.
[91] [PGov] Government Notice No.192 of 1921, on the 13th May 1921.
[92] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/2: H&EC, 1921.02.22.
[93] See [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/4/260: Building and Other Regulations, File: E552/4.
[94] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/6: PH&BRC, 1915.10.21.
[95] [CAbox]NA 457: Minutes of Evidence. Commission on a Native Location for Capetown, October, 1900.

location'.[96] To say that Cape Town had been turned into a location would be to suggest that the city had become a Native space and was suffering a kind of invasion of Otherness. It should be noted that the idea of a location was approached with much ambivalence, a fact borne out in the evidence given to the Commission. Even though the idea of what constituted a location was changing, the very word[97] was likely to conjure an image of uncontrolled areas of Native dwellings and insanitary conditions as had developed in Port Elizabeth[98] and East London[99] rather than the highly controlled social space that later became associated with it.[100] Cape Town, unlike these two "frontier towns," had no immediate local Native population to draw unskilled labour from and consequently had no long history of using "locations" (areas set aside for Natives to build "huts" normally beyond the municipal boundary) as a way of avoiding dealing with issues of housing unskilled labour whilst maintaining racial segregation through spatial boundaries.

The Native Locations Act of 1884 and its amendment in 1899 allowed for employers of Native labourers to house them on land at their place of work under certain conditions. In Cape Town, this had been used to partly house indentured labourers in barracks at the docks in a manner more in keeping with the compounds of the mines in Kimberley and Johannesburg.[101] However, by the end of the 19th century there was a growing immigrant population of mobile Natives who found accommodation for themselves *within the space of the city itself* that became a noticeable problem for the stewards of the city and the White middle-class in general. Contrary to the English reverence for *laissez-faire* development, free markets and the sanctity of individual liberty, the CNL was established to deal with this 'invasion' and maintain the city as a White space. More precisely, how to resolve the spatial contradiction between the need to house what the *Cape Times* called 'a floating population of uncivilised natives'[102] near their place of work (largely in the docks, brickfields and in the city itself) and yet rid the city of the visible presence of this 'alien Kafir population,'[103] was one of the main thrusts of the CNL. Despite the efforts of the CNL it was the arrival of the Bubonic Plague in February 1901 and the enactment of quarantine laws of the Public Health Act of 1897 that ultimately brought about selected forced segregation in the City, albeit informed and guided by the recommendations of the CNL.[104] Nevertheless, the verbatim reports of the witnesses and interlocutors at the commission explored below offer a direct glimpse into the views of those in power at the time and offer insight into their understanding of the issues of race and space and the production of the city as a White space.

One of the main causes for concern was the extensive spatial distribution of Natives in many dwelling houses throughout the city. The *Cape Times* quoted statistics from the MOH

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[96] [CAbox]NA 457: CNL: Robert Wynne-Roberts, (City Engineer).
[97] [CAbox]NA 457: CNL: John McGregor, (Chairman, Maitland Village Board of Management).
[98] Baines, G., 'New Brighton, Port Elizabeth c1903-1953. A History of an Urban African Community'
[99] Minkley, G., in Judin, H. and Vladislavic, I., *Blank - Architecture, Apartheid and After*
[100] Consider the idea of the 'location strategy' as a means of social-spatial control in Robinson, J., *The Power of Apartheid*
[101] [CGov]Act 37, 1884, (Native Locations Act); [CGov]Act 30, 1899 (Native Locations Amendment Act).
[102] [News]*CT* 1900.02.08: Editorial, 'The Aboriginal Immigrant.'
[103] [News]*CT* 1899.12.27: Editorial, 'The Kafir Problem.'
[104] Bickford-Smith, V., *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Cape Town*, p.160.

that there were some 80 places at which 1,600 Natives were living within the city proper.[105] Aside from the lone voice of the CE, the general agreement of those giving evidence was that to have Natives distributed through the city was an intolerable affair, not only due to the decrease in value of property next to lodging houses,[106] but also in terms of limiting the distribution of what Dr E.B. Fuller, the MOH, called 'Kafir *foci*'[107] and the 'nuisance' associated with the dwellers themselves.[108] Natives were living in lodging houses established by Missions and Churches such as St. Columba's Home and St Philip's Mission, or in the two-hundred roomed Metropole run by the Salvation Army. Others may have found accommodation in residences owned by Natives in houses in Hortsley Street. Whatever the precise distribution, the majority found accommodation in the racially and ethnically heterogeneous District One and District Six.[109]

It was not just simply the distribution of dwelling spaces through the city that was the governing concern but rather it was the unchecked visible presence of Natives within the public space of the city that had made a big impact on those in positions of power. In fact, one of the spurs for the CNL had been the 'tribal fight' which had taken place almost a year before within the city itself and had caused much talk of how to get rid of the 'barbarians,'[110] although it should be noted that the establishment of a location had been a longstanding consideration of the City Council before this particular event.[111] It is important to understand that it was the labourers from rural areas, who were the main focus of the commission, the attitude of those giving evidence to the need to remove the educated or "civilised" Native being somewhat ambivalent.[112] These poorer Natives, marked as "primitive" through the combination of skin colour and their clothing, were seen to be an extreme Other.

It was the strong desire to rid the city of the physical presence of Native bodies – 'raw kafirs' – literally from the streets of the city[113] that is an important fact not previously noted.[114] As Dr Jane Waterston observed: 'Another tremendous mistake seems to me to consist in the natives being allowed to pass through the principal thoroughfares on their way to their work. The men who come down Grave Street every morning are nearly all raw Kafirs, and they make a great noise. Up-country the raw aboriginal Kafir is never under any condition put amongst civilised people or allowed near to houses.' Other witnesses expressed concern at the possibility of seeing Natives 'walking about (with exception of a blanket) in a perfectly nude condition,'[115] whilst the CE admitted receiving complaints of 'the passing to and fro in the streets of natives'.[116] The Mayor of Cape Town, Thomas O'Reilly, also did not consider a

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[105] Notwithstanding a newspaper's propensity for exaggeration and drama: [News]*CT* 1899.12.27: Editorial, 'The Kafir Problem.'
[106] [CAbox]NA 457: CNL: George Behr, (Woodstock Mayor).
[107] *Ibid*:, Joseph Corben, (Sanitary Superintendent).
[108] *Ibid*:, Thomas O'Reilly, (Mayor).
[109] [News]*CT* 1899.12.27: Editorial, 'The Kafir Problem.'
[110] *Ibid*:,
[111] [CAmin]NA 457: Commission on Native Location, Letter from Noel Janisch, Under Colonial Secretary to the Town Clerk, 1901.02.11.
[112] [CAbox]NA 457: CNL: Compare Thomas O'Reilly (Mayor) to Samuel Tonkin (Mowbray Mayor).
[113] *Ibid*:,: Dr Jane Waterston.
[114] There is no mention of this in Saunders, C., 'The Creation of Ndabeni: Urban segregation and African resistance in Cape Town'.
[115] [CAbox]NA 457: CNL: Charles Matthews (Councillor) and George Behr (Mayor of Woodstock).
[116] *Ibid*:, Robert Wynne-Roberts (City Engineer).

location to be thoroughly desirable, one of the reasons being 'there would be a procession of natives through the streets to and from their work two or three times a day' suggesting that a more sporadic, less dense movement would be the more acceptable option. His conclusion was that if a location was established at Maitland 'you would be able to take the men direct from there to the Docks and back again,' presumably by train.[117] For the middle-class who were starting to display their identity in the commercial precincts of Adderley and St. George's Streets, and the pier at the harbour, such obvious signs of Otherness would have made their pretences to respectability and Englishness more transparent.

As we will see in the next chapter, the establishment of Ndabeni went some of the way to removing the visible presence of Natives in the space of the city. It was only after the WWI that the increasing housing shortage brought the stewards' attention back to this issue. The evidence of the CNL not only confirms the idea that the city was understood to literally be a White space, but also that the interaction between space and bodies was part of the visual problematic of the city.

Conclusion

The main motivators for town planning to be instituted at the Cape were not simply focused on the technocratic benefits that this emerging field could bring the city; a concern for the appearance of the city of Cape Town drove much of their representations to the authorities to have town planning implemented. The City Engineer, the Medical Officer of Health, and the Surveyor-General, all usually considered to be dispassionate men of science and disparaging of frivolous things such as the aesthetics of the visual, approached the built environment with the some of the same considerations as architects, who were keen to make the city "beautiful" and have it structured to "show off" its architectural "gems." The concern for the appearance of the city also dominated the discourse around the emerging tourist industry, in which the visual presence of slums and the location of social and racial others played a major role. Materials such as corrugated iron were considered to be so ugly as to force those who lived in corrugated iron structures and other hybrid dwellings to be removed from the city along with the "ugly" structures they lived in. This conflation of the visual appearance of dwellings with social and racial Otherness continued into parts of Old Cape Town such as District Six, where the visual category of 'unsightliness' was reason enough and cause for the exclusion of social and racial Others from the space of the city and cause to require intervention in the appearance of these places, and thereby helping in the structuring of the city as a White space. Furthermore, the stewards of the city considered Cape Town to literally be a European city, and the problematic visible presence of the recently arrived Native labourers in the space of the city was partly the cause for their eventual forced segregation to Ndabeni.

However, the category of the visual was not the only means through which the exclusion of social and racial Others from the space of the city could be legitimised. How

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[117] *Ibid*:, Thomas O'Reilly (Mayor).

people lived in Old Cape Town, and especially when they lived in a manner contrary to English middle-class values, was as much, if not more, of a reason for their exclusion from the space of the city and reason for intervention into these parts of Old Cape Town. It is with the discourse and representations of the problematic social space of Others, as defined through dwellings and Other-spaces, that the next chapter is concerned.

5. Ascribing Otherness & the Threat to the Self:
Representations of Slums and the Social Space of Others

> A British Transvaal will turn the scale in favour of a British South Africa, and a British South Africa may go a long way to consolidate the British Empire. (loud cheers.) That, and all that, is involved in the details, sometimes dull details, of your municipal life, in your water supply, your tramways, your parks, your schools, in your attaining for yourselves the highest standard of civilised life [...] I refer to such matters as tramways, lighting, the clearing of insanitary areas. You cannot let the enormous population which is going to accumulate here, accumulate in a city, of which part may become a pest house.[1]
>
> Milner, Administrator of the Transvaal.

Introduction

That the appearance of the physical fabric of Old Cape Town was a kind of Otherness to the stewards of the city that demanded their intervention was the focus of the previous chapter. This chapter continues the investigation into the general anti-urban attitudes of these English-oriented ideologues, but here the focus shifts to the social space of Old Cape Town, and in particular the domestic space of District Six. The occupation of the inner city of Cape Town by social and racial Others, started to represent the possible undoing of English possession of the city and White possession of the country as a whole. It was these places and kinds of spaces – the slums and introverted dwellings – that presented the White middle-class and those in power with a direct challenge to their values and their very self-identity, and threatened, without much exaggeration, *the whole of Western civilisation*. That these spaces did not fit the English ideal of what the City was meant to be and what it was imagined to be becoming through the vision of the Garden City Movement (hereafter GCM),[2] led partly to the production of a large volume of debates and discourse around the city, its slums and the need for housing programmes. Within these debates and discourse were repeated descriptions and tropes that, through a conflation of social and racial others with particular problematic dwelling spaces, reinforced an identity of otherness for people who were not middle class and White, whilst simultaneously making their very presence in the city problematic.[3] Others have noted that issues of health were the main factor used to legitimise the early racial segregation of cities in South Africa.[4] As a complement to this, I will argue that issues of identity, as ascribed and defined through the domestic space of Old Cape Town, also played an important role in legitimising racial segregation and the restructuring of domestic space in Cape Town.

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[1] [News]*CT* 1902.01.14: 'The Milner Banquet in Johannesburg.'
[2] See Chapters Six and Seven.
[3] This was not a phenomenon unique to Cape Town; see the examples of Birmingham, Sydney, and San Francisco in, Mayne, A., *The Imagined Slum. Newspaper Representation in three Cities, 1870-1914*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993).
[4] Swanson, M., 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909'; Van Heyningen, E., 'Public Health and Society in Cape Town 1880-1910'.

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5.1 The Native location of Ndabeni. Source: South African Library.

Background

Prior to the early 1920s, the domestic space of Others had occasionally entered into public debate and concern,[5] but it was only in the 1920s that it became a major, if not *the*, social issue of the time. Aside from Ndabeni (Cape Town's first spatially segregated housing "location" for "natives," Figure 5.1), the early years of the period of study shows a limited interest in housing and slum conditions, even though cities in the England had begun to focus on these problems through the implementation of the Housing and Working Class Act in 1890. Not forgetting the Dutch East India Company's slave lodge of the 1600s, the Workmen's Metropole on Prestwich Street, built in 1896 for 200 (coloured) labourers, was the first City Council housing project in Cape Town.[6] Apart from this, and a rejected proposal in 1904 for two tenement schemes in Lion and Roeland Streets,[7] there is little evidence of public funded housing projects during the period of study until the end of WWI. The projects of the 1920s are generally thought to have their impetus in the country- and world-wide Influenza Epidemic of 1918 following which a combination of self-interest and philanthropy are thought to have led to public support for slum removals, better housing and the Housing Act of 1920. This support was due to a combination of first-hand experience by middle-class relief workers and journalists visiting the slums in an attempt to investigate and understand the causes of the outbreak.[8] Even though the Influenza Epidemic had the effect of bringing housing and slum questions to a head, prior to this Epidemic there had been an increasing official interest, concern and investigation of the living conditions of various communities and

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[5] Bickford-Smith, V., Worden, N., and Van Heyningen, E., *Cape Town*, p.179; Easton, J., *Four Questions of the Day*, (Cape Town: J C Juta & Co, 1888).

[6] Elias, C., 'A Comparative Analysis of Government Housing Policy and Cape Town City Council Housing Policy, 1890-1935'; see also Karen Smuts' forthcoming Ph.D. at the University of Cape Town on working class housing in the Nineteenth Century.

[7] [CCC]Mayoral Minutes, 22nd September 1904. Diane Gihrardo clarified this point for me.

places within South Africa and the Cape Peninsula. This mapping of conditions had begun in earnest with the Tuberculosis Commission of 1914, which considered extensively the effects and conditions of dwelling space on the spread of the disease. The impetus for, and debates around, the Public Health Act of 1919 and the abandoned Unhealthy Areas Bill c.1920, also illustrate the importance that the Central Government attached to housing conditions prior to the Influenza Epidemic. In Cape Town itself, in May 1917, an Overcrowding Sub-Committee had been formed out of the standing Special Committee, a year before the Influenza Epidemic hit the city. As we shall see further below, this Sub-Committee had been formed almost exclusively to deal with the fairly dense area in Old Cape Town that was known as Wells Square. This Sub-Committee went on to become the Housing and Estates Committee in 1919 and was the main Council organ responsible for the housing programmes of the city.

Apart from the Influenza Epidemic of 1918, there are other reasons as to why issues of identity concerning housing and slum conditions may have come to a head in the early 1920s. The growing interest in living conditions prior to the Influenza Epidemic indicates an awareness of the pressure on the existing stock due to the increase in population living in Cape Town. This population increase was thought to come from two sources, namely the immigration of Natives to the city following the limiting of tribal land by the Land Act of 1913, as well as an increase in the number of "poor Whites" from rural areas due to the effects of drought. By 1922 the increased visible presence of Natives in the space of the city was an issue such that the *Cape Times* stated that 'there are streets in Cape Town which already resemble Kafir locations of the very worst type'.[9] This increase was due to the Ndabeni location reaching its saturation and magistrates refusing to turn Natives out of overcrowded lodgings on account of there being no alternative accommodation for them.[10] This period also coincided with the end of WWI during which little construction had occurred and during which many former dwellings had been converted into stores and offices or demolished for development.[11] What houses had been built were largely for the middle-class leaving little new infrastructure for the immigrants.[12] The possible co-habitation of members of different races and the danger to the unity of the emerging White national identity added further complications and impetus to the slum and housing questions.

As we shall see further below, the Housing Commission and the Natives Urban Areas Act (hereafter NUAA), which was under debate in the early 1920s, brought a lot of the issues into clear focus not just in Cape Town, but across the country. This chapter, however, takes the general explosion of discourse and debate around housing and slum clearance after 1914, as the major source of its investigation. The first issue to be explored is how domestic space, and descriptions of the bodies of Natives or Others within it, produced the ascription of animal-like characteristics and qualities to these Natives or Others.

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[8] Phillips, H., *"Black October". The Impact of the Spanish Influenza Epidemic of 1918 on South Africa*, (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1990)
[9] [News]*CT* 1922.02.07: 'A Tour of the Shebeens.'
[10] *Ibid.*; [News]*CT* 1922.02.09: 'The City's Needs.'
[11] [News]*CT* 1922.02.13: 'The Underworld of Cape Town.'
[12] [News]*CT* 1936.06.22: 'Squalor of Peninsula Slum Quarters.'

'Nests' and 'Snakes:' Rural Dwellings and the Ascription of Animal Qualities

Before considering spaces of Others in the urban context of Cape Town, it is necessary to understand the way rural Native dwellings were represented by the stewards of the city as this will help establish a benchmark of an extreme Other against which the urban conditions of Otherness can be measured. Furthermore, although the consideration is of rural dwellings, the texts explored below were generated in direct consideration of the slum and housing problems, and the condition of locations in general during the early 1920s. They are important because they associate Natives directly with the animal world, or, as being barely human, thereby confirming them not only as Other, but as a threatening Other. The consequence of this was to allow a "lesser-than" approach to their housing needs, whilst suggesting their presence in the city as incongruous with their "natural" essence.

The 1914 report of the Tuberculosis Commission was one of the first major investigations into the way people lived in different parts of the country. This event in itself is worth commenting on as it shows the beginnings of the comprehensive mapping of the lived domestic space of South Africa. In its investigation into the spread and occurrence of tuberculosis in different races and different areas of the country, the report tended to idealise the life of rural Natives and their relationship to their dwellings. This is not to say that the Commission did not consider aspects of Native dwellings as problematic. Nevertheless, it offered this somewhat rosy, albeit belittling description: 'The raw native in his kraal lives in the main an easy, healthy open-air life. Much time is passed idling in the sun. The hut is usually occupied only at night and when shelter from the weather is required.'[13] Although they were concerned about the perceived lack of ventilation and the comparatively large amounts of dust from dirt floors and their possible effects on the health of lungs, the Commission thought that as far as physical health was concerned, there was generally a healthy symbiosis between Native, dwelling and the environment. Thus in "solving" the problem of Natives in the city, it seemed that ideally Native space could be located adjacent to the space of the city: 'If means could be devised by which native women could resort to the labour centres in proportionate numbers to the men, and when there live without deterioration, as native families and under native conditions, it would be an advantage, as well on health grounds as for other reasons.'[14] These 'other reasons' would have included savings to the local municipalities on money not having to be invested in housing per se. Yet this cut-and-paste of different worlds suggests the even stronger desire for homeostasis, of retaining the static, unthreatening, and distant world of rural Natives. As noted in the Introduction, colonial society felt least threatened when presented by the Other as an extreme Other. It was when the Native started to take on the traits and foibles of the colonial master – a condition Homi Bhabha defines as the 'Mimic Man'[15] – that the tenuous construct of the Self began to come under pressure, and the uncomfortable recognition was made of the Other within the Self. To have a White city and a native village side-by-side, their

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[13] [UGov]34-1914, Report of the Tuberculosis Commission, p.101.
[14] *Ibid.*, p.107.
[15] Young, R., *White Mythologies*, p.147.

boundaries clearly demarcated, would have been the ideal "solution" to one of the undesired "side-effects" of colonialism.

The example of the Tuberculosis Commission is not to suggest that the structural unity of the Native and his dwelling was thoroughly and consistently idealised. The Comaroffs have shown, through an analysis of earlier colonial times in South Africa[16] that the dominant idea in missionary representations was that Natives and the Native hut were part of the natural world and consequently lacked cultural sophistication as a mark of humanity. To understand the depth of this sentiment it is worth exploring two quotes below. The first, from an article titled 'Native Housing. Physical and Social Conditions,' was published in the then unofficial magazine of the Cape Institute of Architects (hereafter CIA) the *Architect, Builder & Engineer* (hereafter *AB&E*) and partly concerns the Native hut in its rural setting. Here the representation of Native dwellings allows the reader to associate Natives in general as being part of the natural or animal world, if not animals themselves. Not only is "the native home" seen to lack (and be indicative of a lack, of) cultural sophistication, but also characteristics and qualities basic and necessary to any human dwelling. It should be noted that this article was published right at the time Cape Town's new Native location of Langa was being imagined and could therefore be read as part of the process in the legitimising of the building of simple dwellings for Natives based on their "naturally lesser "needs:

> To put the matter in an extreme way, the native home is essentially a place of refuge from the weather, from wild beasts, from the observation of possible enemies, and for the fulfilment of those perfectly natural functions of cover and shelter that savour rather of the bird's nest than of the highly organised and complicated villa which the European considers as essential for his requirements. No sewing rooms, boudoirs, studies, offices, billiard rooms and music salons, or other apartmental concomitants of a complex social life enter into the picture, and the problem being thus reduced to the simplest possible elements is one which should be capable of a simple and satisfactory solution [....] Simple, however, as the needs may be, there are certain requirements that must be satisfied in every reasonably human habitation, and those requirements are stated as follows:- The need for shelter, warmth, reasonable privacy, the storage of food, attention to hygiene, durability, comfort, and ease of ingress and egress. Most of these requirements are ignored in the ordinary Kaffir hut, but all of them are met singly in varieties which we have had opportunities for seeing and studying upon records. The ordinary hut contains little, if any, means of egress for the smoke of a fire from within, takes no thought for the necessity of food storage, gives a maximum amount of inconvenience in ingress and egress by reason of the smallness of its entrance doorway and the awkwardness of the placing of its roof-props from within, takes no account of sanitation owing to defects in light and air, has no arrangement for privacy, and few, if any, of the requirements incidental to the lowest conceivable standard of human comfort.[17]

Likening the Native's hut to a 'bird's nest' draws the Native close to the natural world and so lacking in cultural sophistication. The phrase 'every reasonably human habitation' and its list of defining requirements, suggests that the hut and the Native are not part of the human world at all. These associational qualities also reinforce the notion that Natives, as animal-

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[16] Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J., *Of Revelation and Revolution. The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p.280.
[17] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.6, n.10, (May, 1923), p.10.

like and of the "natural" world, had no legitimate right to the space of the city itself. It should be noted that this article was also written exactly during the period when debate was raging on the soon to be passed NUAA – an Act that effectively limited black peoples' access to South Africa's cities through registration, work passes, and residential segregation. The passage also brings up a set of issues to be dealt with later in this chapter, namely the positing of the European villa as the benchmark against which any dwelling was measured, whilst the values of 'privacy' and 'durability' hint at the particularly English nature of this idealised dwelling type.

Consider the second example of the rural dwelling used as associational device in defining the identity of Natives as Other:

> The native likes everything in circles: they think in circles. After all, this is the type of hut that you find universally all over South Africa. It is as natural for a native to live in a round hut as a snake to live in a hole.[18]

This comes from paper read at the Thirteenth Session of the Association of Municipal Corporations of the Cape Province, held at Grahamstown, 10th, 11th and 12th May 1920 and deals explicitly with the Bill leading to the NUAA and municipalities' responsibilities in providing housing for Natives and controlling their presence in the city. This paper seems to have been largely based on the findings of the Tuberculosis Commission, especially the ambivalence as regards the use of circular dwellings for housing Natives in urban areas. The rhetorical devices persist, principally through the simile associating Natives with, not only the animal world, but a dangerous and threatening one at that. Here the circular space and form of the Native dwelling is also used to define Natives as fundamentally irrational, whilst also pointing to "their" need for guidance. Taken together then, these two quotes serve as examples of how the Native, defined through his "natural" dwelling, is marked as unsophisticated, animal-like, threatening and clearly lacking any claim or right to the city whilst "belonging" to the rural landscape. Quite simply, for a Native to live in the city would have to be on European terms and would be under highly controlled conditions. As we shall see in Chapter Seven, this notion of the Native being essentially rural or a peasant is one of the main sentiments expressed at the time the NUAA was debated.[19]

'Kennels' and 'Hovels:' Urban Dwellings and the Ascription of Animal Qualities

This use of representations of Native dwellings to define their inhabitants as being of the natural or animal world were also carried through to the representations of dwellings in the urban areas used by Natives and Others in general. Although words such as 'pondokkie'[20] and 'shanty' were occasionally used, especially towards the end of the period of study and mostly to describe peri-urban dwellings, the commonplace term is 'hovel' which clearly

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[18] F.A. Saunders, 'Municipal Control of Locations,' paper read at the Thirteenth Session of the Association of Municipal Corporations of the Cape Province, held at Grahamstown, 10th, 11th &12th May 1920,' p.9-10.
[19] See for example [News]*CT* 1923.05.07: Editorial, 'The native is essentially a peasant; he is not an urban resident...'
[20] Originally used to describe the reed huts of slaves at the Cape, see Silva, P. ed., *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

associates the dweller with an animal status.[21] From newspapers[22] and magazines,[23] to petitions,[24] conferences,[25] and official documents[26] the word is ubiquitous in the forty-odd years this study covers. It should be noted, however, that many of the descriptions of dwelling spaces using this emotionally charged word, especially those after the 'flu epidemic of 1918, were intended to shock the general public and officials into providing some form of social housing or better health conditions in certain areas. Nevertheless, the use of this word in identifying and describing Other-spaces reinforced the identity of Natives and those with limited resources as Other. Consider the following quote concerning the voting rights of Natives living in the city: 'Think for a moment of that ignorant and disgustingly dirty fellow, the occupier of one of these wretched hovels, having a voice in the government of this town equal to that of the mayor himself.'[27] Although written before the period of study, it illustrates how the labelling of a dwelling and its occupier evinced an emotional and negative response to the recently urbanised black population. In an article titled 'A Hotbed of Horrors,' the *AB&E* ran their own exposé on slum conditions, choosing Wells Square – a place of much notoriety and explored in the following chapter – as their focus (Figure 5.2 and 5.3).[28] In this example, the propensity to associate Natives with the animal world has been widened to include the urban poor in general: 'It may have been a square once; it's a sink now. What once was open space is covered by hovels, kennels, rabbit warrens, call them what you will, but for Heaven's sake don't call them human habitations.' Although not explicitly stating the presence of Others there are examples where there is a clearer association of human "type" with dwelling "type." Consider the following quote from the 'Underworld of Cape Town' series run in the *Cape Times*:

> Within a stone's throw of the University [in the city] exist squalid hutches and warrens occupied by people of colour who could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be described as the better class. These premises are being whitewashed now. The landlords have had a shaking up [from the series]. Perhaps they fear demolition.[29]

The examples of associating the dwelling space of the urban poor with shelters for animals are many, but they are not limited to areas of Old Cape Town. Consider, for example, the letter of complaint from a resident on the Cape Flats (the sandy lowlands surrounding the Peninsula) who voiced disgust at the presence of unlicensed dwellings near his house

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[21] The modern reader may be surprised by this direct association, but it is one that is verified in the primary sources I have looked at and also in the 1933 *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, which gives the first definition of 'hovel' as: 'An open shed; an outhouse used as a shelter for cattle.'
[22] [News]*CT* 1922.02.13: 'A Terrible Indictment;' [News]*CT* 1922.02.15: Letter titled 'The Dry Docks;' [News]*CT* 1936.06.22, 'Squalor of Peninsula Slum Quarters.'
[23] [Mag]*AA*, v.1, n.6, (November, 1912), 'Johannesburg's Magnificent Contrasts;' [Mag]*AB&E*, v.1, n.3 (October, 1917).
[24] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/9: H&EC, 1925.02.19, petition from residents of the Lansdowne District.
[25] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/4/469: H&EC Conferences & Letters, 1925.04.24, comment by the Mayor.
[26] [UGov]34-14: Report of the Tuberculosis Commission, p.126
[27] Easton, J., *Four Questions of the Day*.
[28] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.1, n.3, (October, 1917), p.59-61.
[29] [News]*CT* 1922.02.15: 'The Underworld of Cape Town.'

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5.2 'A Hotbed of Horrors' – Wells Square as pictured in the *AB&E*. Source: [Mag]*AB&E*, v.1, n.3, (October, 1917).

saying 'they are so constructed as to be unfit for a pig to occupy'.[30] The slightly subtler ploy of using the named dwelling as associational device through which Otherness could be ascribed was occasionally ignored and the urban poor were simply called animals. An example of this can be found in the following report of the tour of the city undertaken by the Council who 'saw the dens and kennels in which people lived worse than rats'.[31] At a much later date the *Cape Times* was still associating poor people as 'sub-human'[32] through their association with their dwellings. One could say that representations of domestic space, through the simple process of naming, had been used to ascribe or strengthen a sense of Otherness. This process of assigning animal-like qualities to Others through naming, was continued in the extensive official investigations and newspaper and magazine articles describing the social space of Others that emerged with the consideration of the housing and slum problems. Although these descriptions only occasionally linked Natives and Others directly to the animal world, they had the general effect of confirming their identity as Other, by allowing the White middle-class reader to understand their negative conditions as being *essential* to the make-up of those people inhabiting those domestic spaces. The rest of this chapter is an investigation into the description of these "essential" characteristics and the threat that these were seen to pose for the Self.

Congestion and the Misuse of Space: Ascribing Otherness

The primary concern that drove most of the writing on slums was the condition alternatively called 'overcrowding' and 'congestion.' As was noted in Chapter Four, the latter term was also used to describe the density of buildings in the city, but it was the density and number of bodies in dwellings that was typically meant by the term and itself was one of the major causes for concern. In the shadow of Victorian morality and the required separation of sexes, it was generally understood that 'living under such conditions is not only bad physically, but also bad morally'.[33] Although there were sentiments to the contrary, the overwhelming

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[30] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/5/1248 (N75/5): Natives: Alleged Squatting of: Kensington Estate, Maitland, Retreat, Muizenberg, Kalk Bay, 1922-1923, letter from J.A. Simon of Margate Road, Muizenberg to Town Clerk.
[31] [News]*CT* 1918.11.01: 'The City's Housing Problem.'
[32] [News]*CT* 1939.08.07: 'Pondokkie Dwellers – City's "Sub-human" Race – Squalor and Death on Cape Flats.'
[33] [CAbox]NA457: CNL, Interlocutors to Rev. Elijah Mdolomba (Weslayan Missionary)

consideration was that this condition of dense living was endemic to the Native and Others in general. Again, animal-like adjectives reinforced this perceived condition as problematic and threatening, and can be found a few decades before the slum and housing problems of the 1920s. Consider the following quote from the evidence given at the Commission for a Native Location for Cape Town in 1901 (hereafter CNL) and concerning District Six:

> We have a considerable amount of overcrowding among the low-class Jews. The Kafirs seem to like to herd together; they would prefer to have a room filled. The Europeans prefer the reverse, and it is the result of circumstances that they herd together.[34]

The animalistic qualities associated with the word 'herd' are fairly obvious. Consider the evidence given on the same day by Robert Wynne-Roberts, the CE of Cape Town who was of the opinion that a satellite Native "location" was not desirable and preferred the supervisory possibilities that lodging-houses could apply in "civilising" Natives:

> You would be able to have supervision over them. They want to live under conditions they are used to live. They like to huddle up together. If they are under the lodging-house principle you can get them to live in a more civilised way by force. You will in this way do the native more good than anything you can think of. Once you begin to improve his morals in that respect you raise him to a higher level. If the natives are in a location they would be huddled together as they please, and you cannot expect to improve them in this way.[35]

Whatever the CE's paternalist intentions, the Natives, it seemed, "naturally" preferred to live 'huddled together.'

The sentiment of the CE to give Natives the chance to 'improve' was not a common one at the time. In a hint at the justification of the limited provision of accommodation and amenities that were eventually built in Cape Town's first location, Ndabeni, Dr Jane Waterston proposed 'that it is a mistake to give a Kafir every advantage, and also allow him to obtain drink, because he has little self-control, and, in his wild state, small sense of morality or anything else'.[36] These views about the Native's 'wild state' or his tendency to live 'huddled together' was expressed some 30 years later but here it is generalised as 'the very lowest class of people' perpetuating the condition.[37] This essentialist attitude also carried through to the view that it was in "their nature" to spoil: 'If some people were put in the Governor's house they would soon turn it into a condition worse than a Kafir kraal.'[38] Others lamented the 'noteworthy ease with which natives usually adapt themselves to slum conditions'.[39] Whilst a report by the Department of Native Affairs in 1919 suggested: 'So long as the native is content to live in squalor so long will the native population of the towns be an

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[34] *Ibid*:, Joseph Corben, (Sanitary Superintendent).
[35] *Ibid*:, Robert Wynne-Roberts, (City Engineer).
[36] *Ibid*:, Dr Jane Waterston.
[37] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/13/1/1: Slum Clearance Special Committee. Verbatim record of meeting between Committee and Juwala Singh (owner), B. Singh (Agent) and Captain Gordon Bird (Owner's rep) dated 22nd October 1934.
[38] [News]*CT* 1917.12.08: 'Future of Wells Square.' Quoting Rev. A. Hodges.
[39] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.19, n.5, (December, 1935): 'The Slum Problem.'

offence and menace to the European section of the community'.[40] Natives, it seemed, were somehow naturally unable to keep "their" living quarters in any kind of decent order, whilst the sentence itself hints that this should be enough to legitimize the possible dispossession of Natives from their dwellings in the city.

The idea that Others had a natural tendency of living in dense areas cut across the then instituted racial lines: Coloureds were considered as prone to dense living as Natives. On a 'Visit of Inspection' to Wells Square, the Municipal Reform Association state matter-of-factly that they found 'as many as 17 [Coloureds] living in one house'.[41] For the middle and upper class where the tendency was for four or five people to occupy a house, this statistic would have been beyond the need for hyperbole and would have been enough in itself to evoke a shudder of fear. A few years later, at a conference between the government's Central Housing Board (hereafter CHB) and the city's Housing and Estates Committee (hereafter H&EC) to consider a housing scheme for Coloureds, it was reported that 'Councillor Zoutendyk stated that the object of the Scheme was to get rid of the congested areas. He pointed out that it was very difficult to get the people in District Six out of their "hovels," even if they were offered nice houses. They would rather live in congested areas.'[42] For that matter consider the following quote which links the increase in density of bodies in space to an increase in social degenerates. The particular locality under consideration is the area of District Six that was known as the "Dry Docks" which, contrary to expectations of its name was at the foot of Devil's Peak mountain, just below the recently developed De Waal Drive:

> Seventeen years ago, when we first started mission work there, the cottages were inhabited by very decent coloured folk, each family occupying a room and occasionally two rooms. But now things have altered and the overcrowding is deplorable, two and in some cases three families living and sleeping in one room, 12 x 12 feet. And even then only one family rents a room. They sometimes take in a lodger or two. Many of the respectable people are still there and trying to live good, quiet lives, but there are dilapidated rooms abutting on filthy backyards which are not fit for human habitation, which shelter numbers of girls and men of the lowest type.[43]

District Six and its "hovels" were becoming conflated with a particular kind of people, the kind that would rather live in dense, sub-human conditions. But it was not just particular areas of Old Cape Town that were problematic. The whole idea of urban living in general was considered degenerate, and could literally lead to a genetic degeneracy.[44] Just in case they forgot themselves, the CHB's report of 1935 quotes Raymond Unwin on just how different the English are in terms of domestic space. Unwin, an English architect who, as we shall see in the last three chapters, had a definitive influence on domestic space had this to say: 'The English people retain their love of individuality for themselves and their family life which

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[40] As cited in [UGov]4-1920, Report of the Housing Committee.
[41] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/3/97(31/3): Improvements to Wells Square 1915-1918, letter dated 1917.05.18.
[42] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/4/469: Conference between the CHB and the Housing & Estates Committee, 23.04.1925 and 24.04.1925, p.9.
[43] [News]*CT* 1922.02.14: 'Underworld of Cape Town.' Letter to the Editor from 'One Who Knows.'

springs largely from their cottage homes [...] They dislike the "herd" life and the "herd" mind which tenement existence is liable to foster."[45] That a family would choose to live in a tenement or a flat was largely incomprehensible. Consider the cultural self-assuredness in the following quote from the 1935 report of the CHB, which was the main organ of central government financing housing assistance to municipalities: 'On the continent of Europe, flats are provided for many classes of workers, most of whom are owing to the nature of government control inarticulate as to their desires or wishes for home life.'[46] In other words, were they able to protest, then their choice would naturally go against the flat and be in favour of the single-family detached unit. Yet the sentence carries with it the innuendo that continental Europeans – those other than English – could be and were marked as Other by their choice of dwelling type. 'Neighbours have nothing in common, not even a cabbage patch, and the tenant of a flat cannot forget that neither he, nor his neighbour, is "king of the castle."'[47] It would seem that those who lived in flats then were all "dirty rascals." This Othering also played its part with regards the idea of degeneracy, the logic being that given a choice nobody would consider flats as a desirable dwelling type, therefore, its inhabitants must either be indigent, or more simply, prone to degeneracy.

Some voices were heard that suggested that people who lived in overcrowded dwellings in Old Cape Town did so not because they chose to or were innately programmed to, but because they could afford nothing else. The sentiment of helping the "worthy poor" was summed up by the British Royal, Princess Alice, at her opening speech for Cape Town's Housing Week in 1929:

> You cannot expect decency, morality, or health under such conditions. And yet, if you or I were forced to pay a rent we could not afford, and were faced with hungry children, why, I am certain we should do exactly the same! There are lots of decent, respectable people struggling along in those frightful conditions, whose marvellous patience and resignation are beyond praise. But that is no reason why their poverty should be exploited as it so obviously is in many cases.[48]

Nevertheless, the majority of reports and representations depicted high density as confirmation of the difference of those people already marked as such due to other indicators such as skin colour, language and dress. Caught up within this confirmation was the further Othering that suggested that this propensity to dense living was a "natural" phenomenon for a variety of groups of people who, due to their racial inferiority, were also close to animals in their dwelling habits and character. The fact that many families were of an extended or, non-nuclear, type is another point that may have created the sense that they were Other. Whatever its cause, the "herding," perhaps hinting at the dangerous animal world of "Africa," struck the stewards of the city as a condition needing to be controlled and eradicated. There was however, another danger associated with the slums, one that was more immediate in its

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[44] Hawkins, A., in Colls, R. and Dodd, P., *Englishness. Politics and Culture, 1880-1920*
[45] [UGov]CHB Report: 31st December, 1935, p.10
[46] *Ibid*:,, p.6.
[47] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.10, n.8, (March, 1927), p.22.
[48] [News]*CT* 1929.08.13: 'Princess Alice on the Slums.'

potential risk to the stewards of the city. It is the direct threat the slums had for Civilisation and the Self that we must explore.

The Threat to Civilisation and the Self

There can be little doubt that the slums and Other-spaces of Cape Town were viewed by most of the middle-class and those in power as a threat and challenge 'to civilisation, to humanity, and to Christianity'.[49] This idea of the threat to 'civilisation' occurs throughout the period of study from magazines[50] to civic meetings[51] wherein slums were linked as a direct threat to Western civilisation and the need to protect it. What exactly constituted this threat, what allowed Dr Jane Waterston to state '[n]othing sickens me more than the manner in which these people live in this town,'[52] and what potential effects this had on the restructuring of Cape Town is the subject of the following section. The way space was used and the lack of clear designation between use and boundary was one of the main considerations raised throughout writing on the slums and Other-spaces and will be explored later in this chapter. However, this section explores the problem that the bodies of servants and Others coming into their homes presented to the stewards of the city.

Within many and various verbal representations, Other-spaces were often made threateningly present in the spaces of the Self. Unlike overcrowding, where the threat to Western civilisation was to come indirectly through the "natural" degeneracy of particular groups, here the threat was to come directly through the body of servants or through the inanimate objects touched or serviced by Others in spaces represented as Other, and thereby into the Home of the Self or directly onto the body of the Self through "contaminated" clothing. Typically it was servants themselves, or rather, their bodies entering the Home who were the main focus of this perceived threat. Consider the following quotes, which can be taken as exemplary of the kind of sentiment often expressed:

> In Cape Town, the people of the slums come into the houses of Sea Point, Rondebosch and Wynberg as servants, housemaids, and "boys:" they become cooks and washerwomen. They handle the food Europeans eat, make and wash the clothes Europeans wear, tend and even nurse European babies. I wonder how many infectious and contagious diseases have been introduced into European homes by servants?[53]

It was not only newspapers that carried such sentiments. In an editorial in the *AB&E* on the need for housing and written after a visit to Parkwood on the Cape Flats, the author ominously noted that it was 'out of these squalid kennels that we saw servants go forth to

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[49] Dr Malan (Minister of the Interior and Education) at the opening of 'Housing Week' as reported in [News]*CT* 1929.08.13: 'Menace of the City's Slums.'
[50] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.18, n.5, (December, 1934): 'World's War on Slums.'
[51] [News]*CT* 1919.10.13: 'Site Values Rating Question.' Paraphrasing Mr C.H. Lamb speaking at a meeting at the Red Triangle Club chaired by the Mayor: 'The birth-rate was falling and they found that Cape Town, which had so many open spaces in its immediate vicinity, was surrounded by a belt of slums which were a disgrace to our civilisation.'
[52] [CAbox]NA457: CNL, Dr Jane Waterston.
[53] [News]*CT* 1936.06.22: 'Squalor of Peninsula Slum Quarters.'

work in such homes as yours and ours'.[54] Yet it was not only the movement of servants into the Home that was deemed a threat. As the *Cape Times* rightly recognised, the urban poor were the basis of the coloniser's economy and wealth and were always, therefore, connecting the Self to their 'hovels' through inanimate objects, especially clothing and food:

> Somewhere or other in Cape Town – either in insect-infested huts in Ndabeni or in dirty pens in city hovels – are living men and women, black and coloured, who handle daily most of the things we eat and wear. The pollution which surrounds them at night touches us all somewhere by day. Here are the real foundations of our civilisation – embedded in the filthy ooze of a human cesspool. We spend many thousands a year on maintaining a costly public health service, and at any moment a dirty, plague-stricken native from one of the underground haunts of Cape Town – where infection, once lodged, is bound to spread like a consuming fire – can blow the whole edifice of our security to pieces with one hot breath.[55]

In many of the articles on "slums," the use of space, and how this related directly to the Self through the handling of things 'we eat and wear,' was a major consideration. Not only was the holdall phrase 'hovel' used to summarise the Otherness of the space, but care was taken to describe in detail the surroundings in which these Others worked and lived as this quote on Wells Square illustrates:

> In one case we saw a coloured cobbler working at an open window of the smallest size, through which appeared a room of not more than one hundred square feet. In this were several beds. The flooring was decayed, the worker and his surroundings indescribably filthy. Whose boots was he mending?[56]

Or consider the following quote concerning washerwomen, a profession that caused the most concern for the middle-classes who often made use of their services. Again, what is of interest is the way in which the activities of the washerwomen and their use of space are carefully noted:

> We found that many of the tenants of these dwellings carry on the occupation of washerwomen, and during our visit these people were openly carrying on their vocation, the clothes being washed, in many instances, outside the front doors, adjacent to the lavatories, the ironing being performed indoors. From the nature of the garments hanging on the lines, it was at once apparent that they came from good families, and it is unnecessary for us to point out the serious consequences which must necessarily result from such practices if they are allowed to continue.[57]

Often, the middle-class were urged to literally enter the space of the Other for their own good: 'If Europeans would only go, and see for themselves the filthy conditions under which natives live, they would think twice before admitting them to their houses while living under such insanitary conditions."[58] This urging to visit the interior of Other-spaces became

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[54] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.22, n.1, (September, 1938).
[55] [News]*CT* 1922.02.07: 'A Tour of the Shebeens.'
[56] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.1, n.3, (October, 1917): 'A Hotbed of Horrors'
[57] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/3/97 (31/3): Improvements to Wells Square 1915 – 1918, reference dated 1917.05.18 to the Municipal Reform Association's visit to Wells Square.
[58] F.A. Saunders, 'Municipal Control of Locations,' paper read at the Thirteenth Session of the Association of Municipal Corporations of the Cape Province, held at Grahamstown, 10th, 11th &12th May 1920, p.2.

increasingly poignant later when the Slums Act was declared in 1934. Even though it looked 'solid and respectable from the street,'[59] a building in District Six was one of the first to be declared a slum. Any building, thus, could harbour out of sight a condition that was abhorrent and dangerous. Deception potentially lay in every respectable façade. Yet these instructions to enter these Other-spaces also carried with it the urging to reform. No less than for the good of the nation were women urged to 'concern herself with the what concerns her most – look after, say, the homes of those who are working for her – her servant and her washer-woman, and her errand-boy, if she has one, or any of her husband's employees'.[60]

It is easy to dismiss the newspaper articles and the sensationalism associated with tabloid journalism. Yet it is important to realise the effect that these reports had on the production of the city as a White space. They helped ascribe and confirm the difference of Others through the use of animal adjectives in their description of Other-spaces and through the idea that those inhabiting them had a natural tendency to live like animals in overcrowded conditions or slums. Not only was the presence of the Other in the city shown to be an indirect threat to civilisation but also a direct threat to health of the Self by making and illustrating a series of connections across space that linked Other-spaces with spaces of the Self. Through a set of rhetorical devices these Other-spaces are always potentially present in the Home, either through the body of the Other or through their contact with the things used and belonging to the Self. Thus, not only did these articles bring the confirmation of the sense of a racial hierarchy, but also reinforced the sense that the presence of Others in the city needed to be controlled and eradicated. It also allowed what domestic space to be provided to be less-than what one would consider necessary for the Self. The production of the discourse around slums and Other-spaces is also important for this study because through the entering of these places and the reporting of their findings in painstaking detail, journalists became part of the mapping out of the interior space of Otherness. As we shall see later in this chapter, this mapping out of the interior or inside became an important component in the production of the city as a White space. The use of the interior space of the slums and how that space was structured, or rather, unstructured, was necessarily part of the business of the middle class and it is to this issue that we now turn.

Loose Boundaries: Miscegenation, and the Threat of "Contact"

A major threat the slums held for the White middle class, was the interracial and inter-social mixing that its social spaces allowed and encouraged. Yet they were not alone in their concerns; almost all those who cared to contemplate this aspect of slum-life, whether Black intellectual or White architect, considered the mixing and potential miscegenation it presented as a problem. The initial concern for racial intermixture in Other-spaces was the relationship between Natives and Coloureds, often signified through the word 'contact'. Dr Abdurahman, the only Coloured member of the Cape Town City Council for many years, as part of the Overcrowding Sub-Committee, was concerned that 'natives should not be allowed

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[59] [News]*CT* 1934.11.01: 'Building Over 120 Years Old.'
[60] [News]*CA* 1918.10.26: 'The Home.'

to come into contact with the coloured people of the City.' Although it is not stated exactly why, it is quite possible that Abdurahman, along with many others, would have explained this as being crucial for the good of both "races," or for that matter, could have been intending to protect either one of them. In fact the idea of needing to "protect" the Native who was considered 'an unlettered child of the rural area [...] brought into contact with the degrading concomitants of civilised conditions,'[61] had been a standard characteristic defining "the Native problem." As we shall see in the Chapter Eight, this idea of removal from contact with those temptations – in a word, alcohol – and conditions in the city for their own good was one of the strong moral arguments used in favour of the production of the city as a White space. But Dr Abdurahman's concern for the threat could have easily been read the other way. The editorial of the *Cape Times* had early on stated that '[t]he aboriginal populations of the East are altogether alien to the manners and methods of the West, and their sense of decency and public decorum is different from those of the respectable coloured classes of the city into whose localities they are at present forced'.[62] Some 20 years later in reference to the increased residence of Natives in the city, or more correctly 'influx' into 'coloured quarters,' the *Cape Times* called it a 'crime,'[63] meaning that the phenomenon was a threat to Coloureds and that this "crime" was caused by Natives.

The dominant concern however, and unsurprisingly, was for the poor White residents of the city, particularly those living in the slums. In fact, the Housing Survey of the MOH had specifically included the extent of the mixing of races as one of its statistical findings.[64] The *AB&E* saw fit to urge the state to deal with the dangers of having those of European descent having to live 'in close proximity to those of other races.' In their view, 'the peril is by no means confined to the spread of disease and crime; it may threaten White civilisation in the continent of Africa'.[65] The potential for miscegenation, the entering of 'the continent of Africa' into the body of 'white civilisation' through the social space of the slum, is a good example of how the slum was seen as a place of danger to the identity of the Self as indexed through "White civilisation." The slums offered the very potential for the literal erosion of White identity. The following excerpt comes from a report in the *Cape Times* regarding the tour of Cape Town's slums during Housing Week in which parliamentarians took part:

> Europeans lived often in the same houses with coloured people. The children played together, and in the evening shared the same slice of bread. Indeed, on the levels on which those Europeans exist the party discovered that the taboos and inhibitions of their race were tending to lose much of their power. On that level, one of them remarked, would not intermixture be easy for them, and perhaps even desirable?[66]

And further:

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[61] [News]*CT* 1923.05.07: Editorial. Typically this would have been a reference to strong alcohol.
[62] [News]*CT* 1899.12.27: Editorial, 'The Kafir Problem.'
[63] [News]*CT* 1922.02.13: 'A Terrible Indictment.'
[64] [CCC]Mayors Minute, 8th September, 1932, Appendix 6: Housing Survey, Interim Report, p.4.
[65] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.19, n.5, (December, 1935): 'The Slum Problem.'

> Dr. Van Broekhuizen, M.L.A. for Wonderboom, Transvaal, was especially distressed over the casual way in which white, coloured and black people are intermixed in the slums, often inhabiting the same house, and on occasions even sharing the same room. He was firmly convinced that the first step towards solving the housing problem in Cape Town ought to be rigid segregation of the white, coloured and black classes.[67]

It was not only politicians who considered the segregation of races through slum clearances and re-housing as an integral part of the housing "problem." The Chairman of the South African District of the Institute of Municipal and County Engineers, R.W. Watson in an official address, felt that the municipalities did not have the legal power to solve 'the problems arising out of the clashing of East and West in South Africa'[68] by enforcing racial segregation, but considered this a major failing:

> The removal of that considerable proportion of the native population, especially married natives, whose present conditions of living are at once unhealthy and a menace to the health of others, to suitably laid out villages or locations is a duty of prime importance.[69]

Statements such as those made by the parliamentarians and Watson, whether motivated by theories of racial supremacy and degeneracy or not, pointed to the potential loss of identity through miscegenation or 'blood contamination'[70] brought on by the closeness and adjacencies of space that Old Cape Town offered. This potential loss of clear racial and ethnic identities through miscegenation was also linked to a fear of the loss of self-belief and sense of superiority through which White people were able to continue the colonial project. Concern was also voiced that White people living in the slums would become 'demoralised,' by having no choice but to live with Others.[71] Once there, they would remain moribund and then degenerate further and in a way keep on "letting down the team." This "letting down the team" was based on the idea that the respect of Natives and Others for Europeans needed to be maintained at all times to avoid a loss of face, and a potential loss of power.[72] Whiteness needed to be seen as being permanently and wholly unassailable and omnipotent. In fact, the report of the government's 1920 housing commission states unequivocally that:

> The poor whites, as we have seen are living in the most degrading and undesirable conditions in many of the towns, and having regard to the preponderance of the black population and the importance, as all believe, of maintaining the prestige of the white race, this class of people not only cannot be permitted to remain as they

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[66] [News]*CT* 1929.08.03: 'Degrading Effects of the Slum.'
[67] [News]*CT* 1929.08.01: 'Nationalist M.L.A.'s Indictment.'
[68] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.13, n.12, (July, 1930), p.25-26.
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] Rheinallt-Jones, J. D. and Saffrey, A. L., *Social and Economic Conditions of Native Life in the Union of South Africa. Findings of the Native Economic Commission, 1930-1932. Collated and Summarised*, (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1933)Marais, J. S., *The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939), p.282.
[71] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.19, n.5, (December, 1935): 'The Slum Problem.'
[72] Rheinallt-Jones, J. D. and Saffrey, A. L., *Social and Economic Conditions of Native Life in the Union of South Africa*, p.75.

> are, but should be compelled to re-instate themselves in what must be their proper standing in the social scale.[73]

This 'standing on the social scale,' no doubt included those necessary accoutrements of the Self: the Home and a History that the Cape Dutch preservation movement was intended to secure. Yet, not all European residents of slum areas would have been "poor Whites." It should be noted that District Six, for example, had many residents with European and Jewish surnames, many of whom were owners of property there.[74] Or, one may consider an article in the *Cape Times* in 1911 relaying the 'remarkable contrasts' of the area where one found the 'unconcern of the Malays, the ox-eyed calm of the Indians, and the alert, intelligent look of the Jews are all displayed in even a section of a street'.[75] District Six, as a socially and racially heterogeneous place, denied the stewards of the city the sense of the seamless spatial-social order they desired. Whether it was due to the threat of "noble" or "raw kafirs" learning immoral behaviour, or the potential loss of racial identity and thereby the clarity of "correctness" in the colonial project, it was very plainly thought that 'the unregulated mixture of colour in congested areas was a cause of social degradation for all'.[76]

Apart from the fear of miscegenation, reports on the slums also carried with them another fear in the sense of the erosion of Self. Contained within the battlefield-inspired spatial metaphors of newspaper reports is a sense that Others were dominating or gaining increasing control over areas that were formerly places of the White Self. The lack of borders, or the permeability of borders to the slum areas, was profoundly disturbing. Consider the similar sense of loss and danger in the following two separate newspaper reports:

> Here are whole streets of once good-class residential property entirely given up to coloured house-holders and shop-keepers. The decline is startling enough by day. But by night it becomes even more marked. For then, as the native workers of the city troop home to their dismal lodgings, a further stage in the degeneration of the city becomes apparent.[77]

And

> Decent streets, one by one, have fallen, by force of circumstances over which the most energetic and cleanly housewives exercised no sort of control, into the most deadly slums. Cellars and back rooms (meant for wood or coal) became by degrees, the homes of whole families, which includes, almost always some relations in addition to the parents and children.[78]

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[73] [UGov]4-1920: Report of the Housing Committee
[74] Although many "coloureds" as former slaves had inherited the names of their masters, the names considered here are particularly not Afrikaans nor Dutch in origin which suggests they were recent European immigrants. Consider, for example, the names listed on the valuation report for Wells Square prepared in 1918 as found in [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/3/97 and those contained in a petition in 1915 to the Town Clerk as found in [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/3/97 (31/3): Improvements to Wells Square 1915 – 1918.
[75] [News]*CT* 1911.05.20: 'Counting Heads.'
[76] [News]*CA* 1923.01.17: 'Suicide of the White Race.' Quote from a speech by Mrs Dawes, town councillor for Aliwal North, given at the Women's Enfranchisement League Conference.
[77] [News]*CT* 1922.02.07: 'A Tour of the Shebeens.'
[78] [News]*CA* 1918.10.19: 'The Home.'

This second quote is also useful because it contains two ideas that are the topic of the following sections. First the idea of specific rooms being named and related to specific functions as hinted by the phrase 'meant for wood or coal,' and second, the idea of the non-nuclear family as suggested by the phrase 'some relations in addition'. It is to this latter condition that we turn to first.

Congestion and the Misuse of Space

As was noted in an earlier section, the density of bodies present in a room – a condition referred to as "congestion" – was one of the dominant concerns brought into focus by the slums. The main idea promoted by that section was that the tendency of the urban poor to live 'huddled' together was proof and confirmation of their status as Other. This section looks at how the actual condition itself was considered problematic.

Whilst fears of the spread of disease in these conditions was of real consideration, (albeit cynically as a concern for the loss of the labour force and how that labour force could bring disease to the privileged), it was the strongly held opinion that an excess of people in one room would also constitute a collapse of moral health. In a society where non-nuclear families were fairly regular, whether due to a culture where extended families were the norm or due to the necessities of sharing in poverty, this condemnation was fairly onerous. It should also be noted that this concern for non-nuclear family spaces was not simply for the moral health of the Others occupying the spaces, but also reflected how tenuous the values and conditions of Whiteness were and how the Self could be lost unless it was continually re-made. This dual consideration can be traced in the tone and "voice" of many of the sensationalist articles that conducted exposés on the congested areas of Old Cape Town. Even in conditions of lower densities or less overcrowding, the possibility of a non-nuclear family escaping moral judgement was somewhat slim. A little more than a third of the 15,750 people living in one-room lettings in Districts 2 to 6 in 1932 were part of a rental pattern that involved more adults than two parents in the same room.[79] An uncle or an aunt, or two sets of parents sharing a single dwelling with their children, was not a possibility those in power were often willing to accept. Consider the MOH's view of this phenomenon:

> All the activities of home life are concentrated in the one room. It is the bedroom and dressing room for everyone in the household, no matter what the age or sex, the living room, the room for meals, and the only place where food, clothing and household requisites can be stowed away. Except when there is a common kitchen also available, it is the room where the food must be cooked, and the 'washing up' done after cooking and eating (nearly always with no sink in the room), and where the members of the household must wash and take their baths. In time of illness the same room is the sick chamber, and it is the scene of childbirth and of death [...] The only acceptable standard is that every household should have separate bedroom accommodation for (1) the parents, (2) the other adult males and (3) the other adult females; and, in addition, one room for use as living room and kitchen and for other daytime purposes. Nothing less will allow of the necessary standards of health, decency and culture.[80]

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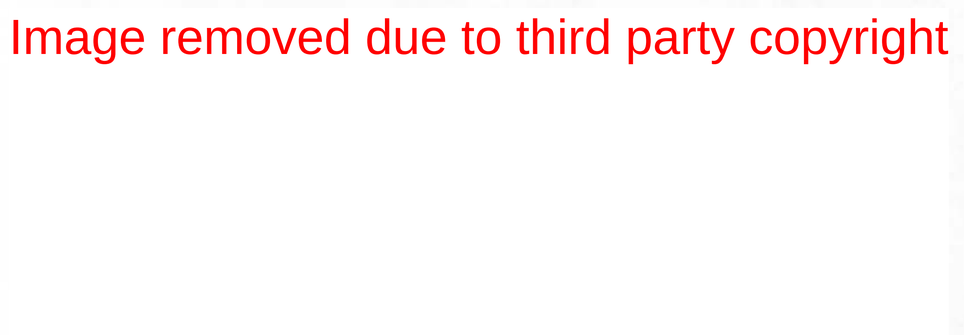
[79] [CCC]Mayors Minute, 8th September, 1932, Appendix 6: Housing Survey, Interim Report, p.4 footnote.
[80] *Ibid.*, p.4.

And

> [T]here can be no privacy or decency in life when a whole family occupies one room, and practically all the poorer coloured people and many of the poorer white people in Cape Town to-day are living a family to a room.[81]

The quotes from the MOH above also hint at a strong underlying belief of the time, that being the clear separation of functions into distinct spaces, represented in the case above by the need for bedrooms separate from kitchens.[82] As we saw at the beginning of this chapter in the example of the Native dwelling set against the litany of rooms making up the 'highly organised and complicated villa,' this lack of spatial differentiation of functions was taken as a sign of primitivism or a lack of humanity. The MOH was careful to point out that his list of minimum accommodation was not only necessary for standards of health and decency (morality) but also for 'culture.' It is not a big leap to conclude that, for the MOH of Cape Town, the slums and their density of people and non-nuclear families were not adding up to the vision of what a Home, and all its cultural constituents of Englishness, necessarily was. It is crucial to understand that the MOH's minimum spatial requirements for a dwelling were also necessarily part of the vision of what it meant to live a proper, and legitimate life. Furthermore, every activity needed to be given a name, and every named activity needed to be given a space, and every activity-named space needed to be separate from the next. Of course certain activities were expected to take place within the same space – the inclusion of these being largely determined by English values of the Home. Clearly in Other-spaces such as the slums, just the opposite occurred. For example, in the Old Cape Town, one of the main concerns was for the lack of properly defined open space or gardens for children to play in. Streets were often pointed to as inadequate and dangerous. What open space there was was not considered adequate:



5.3 Wells Square "Picanninies' Playground" – note the two children in the alley. Source: [Mag]*AB&E*, v.1, n.3, (October, 1917).

> In Wells Square we saw a row of single-storeyed dwellings crowded with children of all shades of colours. Within eight feet of the nearest dwelling citywards ordure and bedding from an adjoining stable lay drying in the sun, and round and in this the poor little outcasts played.[83]

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[81] [UGov]4-1920: Report of the Housing Committee, p.12.

[82] Daunton makes the point that it was the highly differentiated internal space of English dwellings that was unusual at the time, see Daunton, M. J., *House and Home in the Victorian City. Working-Class Housing 1850-1914,* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), p.57.

[83] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.1, n.3, (October, 1917): 'A Hotbed of Horrors'

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HOME, SWEET HOME.

5.4 [News]*CT* 1936.06.26: 'Miserable Pondokkies of Cape Flats'

It is quite clear that the author considered this area as wholly inadequate a place in which to raise children. Children often occur in photographs of slum areas (Figure 5.3). Whether this was from a natural curiosity on their part or whether these were perhaps staged is somewhat irrelevant. Their frequency of use in images was undoubtedly part of an editorial understanding of the potency they held. The power of the image in general was well understood and used fairly regularly in the articles on the slums. Perhaps the biggest negative judgements were made by the use of these photographs and associated captions which expressed the inadequacy of what the object was being likened to. Usually this was a sarcastic accompaniment to a clear intrusion into the lives of the less fortunate. Nearly always the caption reflects the viewer back to themselves through reference to the experiences of the middle-class and its values. The reader simultaneously sees themselves and the objectified subject and is appalled and repulsed (Figures 5.4.and 5.5).

Function and the Misuse of Space

Whether through reasons of poverty, convenience or cultural tradition, Old Cape Town was a space of much fluidity in its use. The following section illustrates how this characteristic was noted and used in the further Othering of the inhabitants of these Other-spaces. In particular, one of the problems associated with the development and densification of the Old City was the creation, or rather finding, of dwelling space previously used for other functions or the problem of former houses being taken over and used in a way offensive to the "ghosts" of the nuclear family members who had lived there. Take, for example, the following quote from the *Cape Times* concerning the visit of Princess Alice to 'Slumland' in 1929:

5.5 [News]*CT* 1936.06.26: 'Miserable Pondokkies of Cape Flats'

> In Buitengracht-street, the Princess was attracted by a beautifully designed but dilapidated old Dutch house. Most of its windows were shattered and its oak panelled hall was serving as a communal kitchen. Past this house, but a few generations ago, the British Governors of the Cape and the flower of Cape Town's society used to parade in the evening. Lady Anne Barnard, it is said, knew it well. Yesterday Princess Alice found it harbouring incredible squalor.[84]

Again, this example also points to the sense of a loss of Self, where History is being erased under the "barbarism" of Africa. It is the use of the hall as a kitchen that is perhaps intended to shock. Awareness of this fluidity in the use of space was noted again, this time not just part of a house being misused, but here a whole house was seen to be under abuse:

> Our objective was a three-roomed house which has been purchased by natives. We found it full of natives and coloured folk, several of them in advanced states of intoxication. In the front room I counted nine native "bloods" and two coloured women, one of them a bawdy creature openly practising her filthy avocations. The place stank of sour liquor. There was scarcely an unoccupied inch of space in all the rest of the house. The passage was thronged with other natives. In the kitchen a semi-nude black man, probably doped, lay propped against the wall, his wide-open eyes full of a merciful oblivion.[85]

This idea of the misuse of space also included those buildings that had never been intended to be used as dwellings but were being lived in. A lot of the sensationalism in the press was based on searching for, and discovering, these buildings:

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[84] [News]*CT* 1929.07.31: 'Princess Alice in Slumland.'
[85] [News]*CT* 1922.02.07: 'A Tour of the Shebeens.'

> It has been common knowledge, or should have been, that for a long while past a stable loft, a converted stable, an underground cellar, a passage in a crowded house, and a backyard building have sheltered the very poor. This describes what a lady worker said two years ago: Off ----- Street is a kraal, in which there are several houses and a stable (not too large), but containing about 8 or 10 horses, etc. On the stable ground is a rickety ladder, the top end resting against a very shallow loft, very much neglected and dirty. The air is impure and made worse from stable refuse, etc. In this loft, which has no door, live several girls and men of a questionable type (all coloured). One table, and some smaller boxes which serve as tables and chairs, are spread about the loft. Three of four mattresses are on the floor with bedclothes of all descriptions. A fire is burning over which two little saucepans are cooking. On this particular morning, two girls were seen sitting on the floor smoking cigarettes. They were half dressed. One's face and head was bandaged, the result of a fight. In the farther end lies the object of the nurse's visit – a female (young, unmarried, but living with a man), in the last stages of consumption.[86]

Sensationalist writing such as this was not uncommon in the newspapers reporting on the Otherworldliness of Cape Town's slums. The headings of the many series show a sense of entering another – non-middle-class – world, or the underground, in effect mapping out the interior or hidden world of the Other carrying with them a hint of danger of their otherworldliness. Many hinted at the sense of voyeurism suggested in the running of the articles, for example 'The Opium Dens of District Six.'[87] As was discussed in the previous chapter, a dwelling was likely to be considered a slum on account of it looking like one. But what if a stable had hidden away within it a group of 'questionable' types? Or, what if it presented a fairly reasonable façade to the street?

Mapping the Interior and the Periphery

Along with the realisation that the home, or the house was no longer a representation of what functions or activities were contained therein, came the call to map out the inside.

> There is only one way to prevent such things and that is constant vigilance. The city should continue to be mapped out, into the districts as they are now being worked. Serious workers should be permanently allotted to each district. Their visitations should be searching and severe. They should be acquainted with the insides of all houses, not merely the back yards. They should bring to light all cases of overcrowding, dirtiness, and disease, and they should make such an outcry about it that the authorities would be compelled to take steps to provide accommodation for the overcrowded, and to remove them; to insist on certain standards of cleanliness.[88]

The Housing Act of 1920 required that municipalities begin a major survey of the housing stock, a necessary part of which involved mapping out the interior space of homes. The housing shortage was only part of the impetus for this. Obviously the state was interested in the way people were living their lives beyond the facades of their dwellings – it was by these

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[86] [News]*CT* 1922.02.13: 'A Terrible Indictment.'
[87] [News]*CT* 1922.02.08: 'The Opium Dens of District Six.'
[88] [News]*CA* 1918.10.19: 'The Home.'

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5.6 Mapping the interior of the slums. Source: Loubser, *De Achterbuurten van Kaapstad*

means that they could begin to control and manage the lives of those who were not White and middle-class, a topic taken up in more detail in the following chapter.

This mapping of the inside also took shape in graphic form. Consider the plan made by a Minister called Loubser in his crusade against the slums of District Six (Figure 5.6). It is especially important to note the density of space and the close adjacency of conflicting functions, such as sleeping rooms next to animal stalls, that were the major cause for concern. The condition of sight and seeing was one of the fundamental problems that was noted in the space of Old Cape Town. Aside from the problems of back-yards being hidden from view, and thus potentially beyond control, there were a number of areas in the Old City that were made of dense, fractured and irregular spaces, which were difficult to map out and control, and which were largely the result of *laissez-faire* development during the British occupation of the Cape. As we shall see in the next chapter, Wells Square was the epitome of this kind of space, its hidden interior and yet its permeability proving fundamentally threatening to not only the police, but also to the general public.[89] Most of the illicit activities associated with Wells Square were attributed directly to the characteristics of its spatial structure which allowed activities such as gambling, prostitution, and the illegal drinking of alcohol to take place. Consider the following as an example of the anxiety that the dense and hidden spaces of Old Cape Town generated:

> Around the corner of a street, in a narrow passage, anywhere out of sight, we find large numbers of men, youngsters and even children divided into groups of circles, urgently busy gambling.[90]

It was not only Old Cape Town that began to be mapped. The increasing presence of Natives at the periphery was also noted as problematic although it did not lead to the extensive mapping that was undertaken in Old Cape Town. The Lansdowne and District Civic Association complained to the Town Clerk that 'many natives of a very undesirable Class are squatting, on Outlands, Balmoral Estate and other parts of Lansdowne.'[91] The Medical Officer of Health reported in 1923 that there were some three hundred unauthorised

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[89] For a similar reading of London's slums see Evans, R., 'Rookeries and Model Dwellings: English Housing Reform and the Moralities of Private Space,' in Evans, R. (eds), *Translations from Drawing to Building and Other Essays* (London: Architectural Association Publications, 1997)

[90] Loubser, A. G. H., *De Achterbuurten van Kaapstad*, (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkerij, 1921), p.31. Author's translation.

[91] [CAbox]3/CT-4/2/1/3/103 (5465): Unauthorised Structures.

huts and dwellings between Muizenberg and the boundary with Wynberg which were mixed in racial occupation between coloured, Natives and Whites.[92]

The awareness of these "problems" at the periphery of the city was not new: similar concerns were voiced in 1900 during the Commission on a Native Location for Cape Town. The evidence at the commission also illustrates that the problems of sight/seeing were, however, at the heart of a spatial paradox that was to haunt those in charge of the planned and future administration of the racial segregation of the city. The CE admitted that Natives were living on the slopes of Table Mountain above the city: 'I do not know whether it is a fact – that natives are allowed up in the bush to put up wattle and daub places and live there without any control whatsoever. I have seen two of these places where they live [...] I believe it is there men who are out of sight, and who have nobody to look after them, who get drunk.'[93] If the visible presence of Natives in the city was threatening (as we saw in the previous chapter), then their non-visible presence was equally so. In the structuring of the city as a White space, Natives needed to be never there but permanently visible, or rather, always seen but never in sight.

Conclusion

The relationship between naming and dwelling was part of the process whereby the stewards of the city were able to ascribe and confirm the otherness of rural and urban Natives. This naming extended across the general population deemed Other and had the effect of defining the urban poor as sub-human and simultaneously threatening. On finding the dense living conditions of Old Cape Town the stewards of the city and journalists considered this a natural and essential characteristic of these Others. As a result, the restructuring of Cape Town's domestic space with the implementation of housing schemes and Native locations, could use these sentiments in the rationale for the removal of Others from the city, as well as to define their requirements as less-than that of their White counterparts. Furthermore, the very act of assigning the identity of Otherness to those at the Cape who were not White and middle class was part of the general structuring of the identity of that White middle class who were able to take much self-assurance in their role as protectors and guardians of those who were deemed to be not quite human.

As part of their investigations into the slums though, conditions were found that were thought to be a direct threat to Western civilization. Amongst these was the realization that the proximity of the middle-class home to the slums, although geographically very distant, was in actuality almost immediate. Another concern was the fact that the dense and heterogeneous character of the slums permitted and suggested the possibility of miscegenation and the breaking down of both literal and figurative barriers between the Self and the Other. Another major threat was the potential break down in social order as suggested through the "immoral" conditions of spatial overcrowding. Furthermore, the

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[92] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/5/1248 (N75/5): Natives, Alleged Squatting of: Kensington Estate, Maitland, Retreat, Muizenberg, Kalk Bay, 1922-1923, letter from Shadick Higgins to Town Clerk dated 1923.10.31.
[93] [CAbox]NA457: CNL, Robert Wynne-Roberts (City Engineer).

"incorrect" use of space according to its intended function not only defined those dwelling in it as lacking in rational and "proper" minds, but also led to the call for the mapping out of the interior of these spaces so that the lives of those Others could be better managed and controlled. Finally, those problematic dwellings at the periphery that were pleasantly "out-of-sight" were not quite "out-of-mind," as there was a disturbing sense of the need to bring these spaces under the control of the city. Whilst this chapter dealt with the real and existing domestic space of Cape Town as represented through the imaginings of the stewards of the city, the following chapter considers what they thought would ideally (and not so ideally), be suited to take its place. In other words, the task of restructuring the Other as the Same was beginning to be defined.

Part Three:

The Suburbs and the Neutered Same

6. Models of the Self:
Englishness, Environmental Determinism, The Garden City Movement, and "Model" Cottages

It was Cecil Rhodes who recorded his ambition to see 'More homes, more homes' spring up as the white man conquered the desert. It is the province of us architects to give real effect to this ideal, and if we make the homes we build really beautiful English homes, becomingly furnished within and set outside in fair and orderly gardens, we shall be lending our small aid to further the work of our politicians.

Herbert Baker, 'South African Architecture.'[1]

Introduction

The previous two chapters considered how the stewards of the city came to view parts or elements of the city of Cape Town, especially in their appearance and social space, as highly problematic. This final part of this thesis examines what representations and models were imagined to replace these existing spaces and what interventions were made to affect these changes. Whilst it is important to acknowledge the emergence of a modernist concern for the *existenzmimimum* of light and air at the Cape during this period, the main concern of this final part is for the role that Englishness played in these moves from the "actual" to the "desirable." The two chapters following this one examine how the domestic space of Cape Town was restructured through legislative and physical interventions, and how this in turn restructured or reinforced the identity of Cape Town's Others in terms desired by the stewards of the city. This chapter considers written, graphic and physical representations of the new domestic space of Cape Town, as imagined by the stewards of the city. As such, these representations reinforced the values of Englishness as the only legitimate ones, their repeated display and presence a confirmation of Englishness per se. Yet, other than that, these representations belie a basic impulse on the part of the stewards of the city to restructure the Other as Same, in other words, to restructure these Others into Englishmen. It is in this sense that this chapter is an investigation into what constituted the models of the Self.

The 'Home' and the Illegitimacy of 'Other' Dwelling Typologies and Building Materials

As we will see later in this chapter, the Garden City Movement (hereafter GCM) crystallised not only an anti-urban vision of the city that had been bubbling under in the social space of England and the English for many years, but also a set of particularly English notions as to what constituted legitimate domestic space. Yet even before the slightly high-brow and explicitly ideological GCM reached Cape Town, there can be little doubt that the single-family detached dwelling was, if not the only legitimate dwelling type, then certainly the most valued and revered by the stewards of the city, the majority of whom owned such buildings in the wealthy suburbs. All other forms of dwelling were looked on with varying degrees of

disparagement and always through terms equated or measured against the single-family detached dwelling.

The single-family detached dwelling was considered fundamental to the development of what was called "home life" and this "home life" being the necessary part of what it was to live a complete and legitimate life. In writing on the slums of Cape Town and Johannesburg the well-known architect H.G. Veale, as early as 1917, proposed the need to provide a 'decent home for white people' and then proceeded to define the home typologically: 'By "homes" I mean detached houses with some ground around them, and not ranges of semi-detached places with very little privacy.'[2] This quote also illustrates the general reverence and desire for privacy which was understood to be formed ideally through spatial isolation of the dwelling unit. This concern for privacy extended to the internal spaces of dwellings themselves. The very first report of the Government's housing organ, the Central Housing Board (hereafter CHB), suggests that a minimum of three rooms (excluding the kitchen which was not considered a habitable space) was required for a "correct" life: 'The principle underlying the granting of housing loans is to encourage domestic life, and in dealing with applications under this heading, the Board decided not to recommend approval of plans in which the accommodation to be provided falls short of three living rooms.'[3]

In their consideration of blocks of flats, the stewards of the city voiced, through its negative, exactly how the single-family detached dwelling was the acme of domestic correctness. The increasing emergence of flats in cities around the country caused concern to be voiced, especially in the *AB&E*. Reports on blocks of flats as a troublesome phenomenon was largely generated around social rather than aesthetic concerns. At the base of this was the idea that flats were unable to support and cultivate 'a family life.'[4] Exactly why that should be was never explicitly stated and was perhaps thought to be too obvious to need any further explanation or analysis. The lack of a private garden no doubt played a major part in this perception. Perhaps the compression of the progression from public to private space was recognised in the patterns that flat-dwelling produced and was seen as problematic. Or perhaps flats lacked the litany of rooms fundamental to the activities of homemaking, as we have already found evidence of in the previous chapter.

Other clues suggest that flat-dwelling was recognised as a direct threat to Englishness itself. Consider the following quote: 'In the first place, one of the most disturbing results of the flat-dwelling habit has been to discourage home building, while it also tends to destroy much of that atmosphere of family life which one has been taught to regard as so essentially British.'[5] Exactly what phrases such as 'home building' and 'atmosphere of family life' meant is up for interpretation. They may point to an idea of the quintessential English cottage – a space occupied by individuals involved in quiet activities such as needlework and reading, with the tick-tock of the grandfather clock, and wistful wisps of smoke out of the chimney.

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[1] [News]*CT* 1905.05.15: 'South African Architecture.'
[2] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.1, n.3, (October, 1917), p.55.
[3] [UGov]CHB Report: 31st December, 1921, p.2.
[4] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.8, n.12, (July, 1925), p.25.
[5] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.10, n.8, (March, 1927), p.22.

Whatever the mental image conjured, what is being implied is that to live in a flat is to assist in the destruction of values that can be considered essentially English.[6] This polemical sentiment, the idea that the identity of Englishness was at stake in the typologies of dwelling, is not as unusual as one might expect given the GCM-dominated time in which it was written. What is implied is that to live in a single-family detached unit is to continue the essence of being English. The somewhat vague phrase 'atmosphere of family life' points to the magical reverence with which the home was held; to construct the Self or the identity of Englishness, required the correct physical backdrop.

Another explanation explored in the article was that flats were attractive to members of the middle class who had no family or children and were consequently to be viewed with much suspicion. The *AB&E* saw fit to comment on the increasing claim of flat-seekers that they had 'no children' (so as to more easily secure leases) with the following judgement: '[I]t does seem extraordinary that in South Africa, a country crying out for settlers of the right type, there should be any tendency or encouragement to check the natural growth of its own middle-class population.'[7] The "logic" operating here was that if there were no flats to encourage solo-living or couples without children, there would be more English middle-class child-rich families living in Cape Town. Or the corollary of the statement would be that, were potential flat-dwelling and childless members of the middle class to live in single-family detached dwellings, the dwelling type would, perhaps by some necessity of its "family-ness" nature and its garden, give rise to a house brimming full of offspring. This idea of the house as instrument for social change is explored in a section further below.

The article goes on to suggest that architects and town planners needed to use all their influence in the development of the city 'on the right lines for the moral and physical comfort of future generations of citizens'. Being professionally involved in the development of flats was cast as being involved in something potentially immoral and threatening to the very safety and security of the middle class (read, White and English) in South Africa. And, again, the corollary sentiment would be that to develop and produce freestanding cottages would be to strengthen morality and the safety of the middle class. In fact, flats were considered the very basis for the development of the worlds' slums. In an article referring to the earlier 1910 International Town Planning Conference in London, the Cape Times reported that: 'American experts [had] attributed the growth of slums and unhealthiness of many of their cities to the baneful system of flats'.[8] As a possible "solution" to the emerging housing problem then, the flat as a typology was unacceptable. As the Durban correspondent of the *AB&E* put it, 'one of the first principles of a healthy municipality is to house its population well and a community of flat dwellers cannot by any means be considered well housed'.[9] Whilst considering flats to have been born out of necessity during a time of limited housing stock, the author went on to predict, somewhat wishfully, that they 'would die a natural death as time goes on'.

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[6] Colls and Dodd point to the idea that to speak of a "British" identity at this time, was essentially to mean an "English" one. See their Preface in, Hawkins, A., in Colls, R. and Dodd, P., *Englishness. Politics and Culture, 1880-1920*

[7] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.10, n.8, (March, 1927), p.23.

[8] [News]*CT* 1914.06.18: 'Town Planning. "A new science: an old art." Points for Municipalities.'

The biggest and possibly most significant condemnation of the development of flats came from the government's Central Housing Board (hereafter CHB). As we shall see, it had assisted the Municipality of Cape Town in providing funds for the development of a block of flats in District Six in the early 1930s, but considered that to be a special circumstance whilst confirming that 'generally the Board does not favour flats'.[10] To support their position on the matter, the CHB made the point that '[t]he trend in Great Britain is entirely against flats and in favour of separate dwellings and garden plots'. This deference to the norms and trends of "Home" not only illustrates the reality of England as the reference point and source of ideas but also that connections were continually being made that would re-inscribe an English identity in South Africa. As a final deference to the authority of a "Brit" the report quotes extensively from Raymond Unwin:

> Sir Raymond Unwin, Past President of the Royal Institute of British Architects and an outstanding authority in the world on town planning, states *inter alia*:-
> 'The steady trend of housing progress in this country for forty or fifty years has been towards more open development and less crowding of dwellings. Starting with the pioneer work at Bournville, Port Sunlight, Earswick, Letchworth, and other places, the conviction rapidly spread to all interested in housing that the cottage home with its garden is not only the best form of dwelling for the people generally, but that it is the most economical, and that its general provision is practicable.'
>
> 'Visitors from other countries where the tenement or skyscraper types of housing prevail envy England her cottage habit.'
>
> 'The English people retain their love of individuality for themselves and their family life which springs largely from their cottage homes.'
>
> 'They dislike the "herd" life and the "herd" mind which tenement existence is liable to foster.'
>
> 'No one who has compared life in a tenement block with that in a cottage, with its little garden, in which the children play and where the elders find pleasant occupation and escape from the many occasions for embarrassment and irritation which must arise in cramped domestic life, can for one moment rank life in a flat – however modern in construction and up-to-date in equipment – as comparable to that in the cottage for its value as a dwelling place.'
>
> 'Much may be done undoubtedly to improve the conditions in flats and tenements. The securing of a small open-air balcony as a necessary attachment for every flat would of itself be an enormous boon as would the arrangement of the blocks so that there is, in addition to a place for children to play, some little patch of common garden where people can sit and enjoy a little natural beauty and variety."[11]

The report ends with the bald statement that 'the South African race will not be built up in flats'.[12] What is meant by 'the South African race' was the newly represented White race group. This was not to suggest that the single-family detached dwelling was considered to be the sole province of the White "nation" as a way of wresting the recently urbanised poor Whites from the dangerous heterogeneity of the slums; flats, quite simply, were considered abhorrent to any "normal" or "decent" way of living, and this sentiment cut across the emerging racial lines at the time, albeit with various differing outcomes.

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[9] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.8, n.12, (July 1925), p.25.
[10] [UGov]CHB Report: 31st December, 1935, p.6.
[11] *Ibid.*, p.9.
[12] *Ibid.*, p.10.

The sentiment that promoted the single-family detached dwelling at all costs did not stop with dwellings located in the air and separated from the garden. Even the tenements of single storey row-houses or terraces were considered problematic. Although there had been an unbuilt proposal for terraces for the working classes by the Council in 1905, this kind of accommodation had long been considered problematic as a housing typology for the working classes by a variety of people. Consider for example the Presidential address of the CIA in 1907, wherein Parker urged architects to get more involved with the design of working class houses. 'If one were asked what is the worst kind of building we have in the city to-day? I think the answer would be "The dwellings of the labouring and working classes." This class of building has never received proper attention in this town, and the demand for houses of this kind, during the recent time of prosperity, created whole rows and streets of them, very little better than the old style of houses.'[13] The problem was not only that the tenements were largely in old parts of the city, but in the fact that they were so un-English. A report on Herbert Baker's paper on 'Town Planning,' at the Conference on Imperial Health held in London by the Victoria League in 1914, sums up the particularly English sentiment against tenements:

> The British people have one fortunate tradition in their favour. This is the principle of the "one house one family" – the cottage instead of the tenement unit – enshrined in their boast that 'Every Englishman's house is his castle." Fortunately a sound British prejudice has prevented its introduction to any serious extent into the colonies.[14]

A middle-class prejudice, that is to say. Some 15 years later Cape Town City Councillor, Mrs Horwood, in considering a fledgling scheme for subsidised housing for the poorer classes, requested that the type of dwelling needed to be stipulated in the application as 'it was not desirable that subsidies should be granted for the erection of tenement buildings'.[15] However, two years later, and despite general opposition from other members of the Housing & Estates Committee (hereafter H&EC), she came out in support of a tenement scheme for the city centre.[16] This support was with the condition that municipal housing schemes in general needed to be managed and controlled on site by a council employee. This emerging ambivalence over the need to accommodate flats as a typology can also be noted in the communications of the Citizen's Housing League (hereafter CHL). Perhaps realising the real insistence of the inner-city poor for dwellings near their place of employment, the H&EC received a letter in July 1927 from Bishop Lavis requesting the chance to secure a site from the municipality on which to conduct an experiment involving a two or a three storey tenement containing ten flats or houses. A little more than two months later the CHL reported to the H&EC that they were 'strongly opposed to any form of tenement building'.[17] The reasons given were that there was an 'instinctive dislike [...] universal among the poor' as

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[13] [News]*CT* 1907.04.27: 'Cape Institute of Architects Presidential Address.'
[14] [News]*CT* 1914.06.18: 'Town Planning.'
[15] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/12: H&EC, 1927.03.17.
[16] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/14: H&EC, 1929.05.16
[17] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/12: H&EC, 1927.09.22.

well as the notion that 'privacy, individuality and home feeling cannot be obtained except in a separate house.' The intention to impart values of Englishness through housing cannot be more clearly spelt out.

The spatiality involved in this does, however, need to be made explicit. With the physically separate house comes the mediation of a separating space that produces in its isolation the possibilities of privacy and individuality. The gate and the garden fence are the real threshold of the house. The tenement, on the other hand, with its stairwells and its spatial closeness of units, was more likely to produce an immediacy of contact, working class solidarity, and perhaps more communal interaction. It is not difficult to see that as a White national identity was being wrested from the bulk of local history, the possibility of tenements to increase miscegenation and interracial interaction was a consideration that would undermine these efforts. Even as sentiment began to change regarding the need for tenements, the single-family detached dwelling still won out on account of its segregationist possibility. At a meeting to consider the CHB's proposal for subsidised housing, the Mayor was minuted as being

> not in favour of the erection of tenement buildings as conditions in Capetown could not be compared with those overseas where there was not a mixed population to contend with. He suggested that for the present no proposals in this direction should be considered at all.[18]

In this sentiment he was not alone. At the conclusion of Housing Week in 1929, the *Cape Times* asked the question: 'Are the slums going to be replaced by model dwellings?'[19] Notwithstanding the fact that it reported the successes of higher density housing developments in Europe it suggested that the Garden City approach was 'more suitable for our population of mixed races and colours'. Although no explanation was given, it can be assumed that the possibilities of "contact" would be greatly reduced in the isolationist space of the Garden City. The tenement, on the other hand, presented, through its compression of space and closer adjacencies of neighbours, the potential for chance interaction across colour lines and the possible forging of a non-racial working class. This condition of density and communality that the tenements or flats were thought to foster was particularly worrying for the stewards of the city and in fact, was generally considered to constitute and foster slums. In considering the proposed location of a housing scheme near the affluent Garden City of Pinelands, the Mayor of Cape Town felt that the scheme would not develop into a slum on account of its low densities and spatial separation:

> In District 6 the houses were all in blocks and closely huddled together whereas it was proposed on the Nieuwe Molen sites to erect detached cottages on fair-sized plots.[20]

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[18] *Ibid.*, 1927.09.28.
[19] [News]*CT* 1929.08.17: 'The Case for Garden Villages.'
[20] [CAmin]3/CT 1/4/9/1/1/13: H&EC, 1928.05.10.

The Surveyor General and head of the Townships Board, A.H. Cornish-Bowden, echoed a similar sentiment in an article that set out to explain the workings of the new Ordinance. In it he balked at the suggestion that housing schemes within the City proper should be permitted densities of 17 dwellings to the acre as they would 'inevitably become slum properties in a few years'.[21]

The general antipathy toward any dwelling that was not in some general sense a replica of the English cottage and its low density extended to the use of building materials and construction techniques in general. George Cecil, in an article in the *AB&E* on Chinese houses, found it curious that the Chinese had not 'been taught a lesson'[22] and taken up European designs and methods given the immediate availability of the European examples in Hong Kong and elsewhere:

> The houses in the treaty settlements show the latest in Western architecture; those which form the adjoining native quarter might have been built six hundred years ago.[23]

This antipathy to Other building typologies and construction techniques was especially true of those materials considered to be 'temporary.' Consider, for example the following excerpt from the *AB&E*, un-ambivalently titled 'Freak Houses':

> Recently there has been some discussion in the Press, both overseas and here, of cheaper methods in building houses, and someone has put forward the suggestion of adopting a Japanese idea of erecting paper houses; to make them more or less weather-proof they would have to be oiled. This scheme seems to have a certain amount of popular fancy, and the result is there are all sorts of amateurs bringing forward suggestions for cheap houses, varying from brick to pise and in the intermediate stages are glass, wood, iron, tin, asbestos, oiled silk, etc., almost varying from the present state to the snow hut of the Eskimos. There is no getting away from the fact that wherever one may go there are oddly built houses, but they do not conform to any idea of stability. Whilst they may meet a present need or a hollow pocket they are not buildings in the true sense of the word, even though they may conform to an architectural setting as far as the surrounding background is concerned. To any one who has visited Bakoven, Clifton, and Melkbosch Strand and one or two other seaside resorts, it is really appalling to see the weird erections and they are likely to last for some time before they are pulled down. All credit may be given to the owner for doing the best he can on a limited purse, purely from an artistic and serviceable view-point, but the fact remains that many of these buildings are solely temporary, and may therefore be classed as freak houses.[24]

The quote contains a number of phrases that help illuminate some of the values associated with Englishness and architecture. The title 'Freak Houses' and the notion that they were held in 'popular fancy' echoes the suggestion that there was a certain fascination with these Other building materials. Yet it also hints at a kind of repulsion at their deformities, the reflection of the Home disfigured. The hierarchical arrangement of building materials from

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[21] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.13, n.5, (December, 1929), p.20.
[22] Paraphrase [Mag]*AB&E*, v.8, n.5, (December, 1924), p.24.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.7, n.11, (June, 1924), p.27.

the most "stable" brick to the most "unstable" mud, is particularly interesting given the association of mud with "Native" dwellings. The phrase 'buildings in the true sense of the word' is perhaps the key phrase in the above quote because it captures the polarity of legitimacy and illegitimacy that operated within the value judgements made of all dwellings. This was not to say that the idea of experimenting with new or old technologies was not considered. Indeed, the CHB occasionally made overtures to that effect, and yet always condemned the need or desirability of any materials other than brick, and occasionally, concrete. To conclude, it is fair to suggest that the single-family detached dwelling, in the form of a masonry-constructed cottage, was the ideal and only legitimate housing model considered by the stewards of the city.

Environmental Determinism and Instrumentality

The idea that the environment had a fundamental effect, whether good or bad on an individual was present throughout the whole period of study. This notion of environmental determinism bounced between the negative influence of the slums and the wholesome world of imagined "model" dwellings, villages and locations where buildings were considered instruments in the process of proper socialisation. The strength and development of "the Nation," the eradication of crime, instructions in civilisation, as well as civic duty and moral character, were thought to be profoundly manipulated and formed through the dwelling and the environment it was located in. The intentional effort to socialise people through specific building arrangements is perhaps best summarised by the word "instrumentality." At the base lay the desire to promote the formation of a middle class. Exactly how this was to be achieved ranged from the vague to the specific; from written representations and graphic visualisations to imagine Otherness away, and literal plans to structure Otherness away.

Certainly the desire to produce in the Coloured population a class of people approaching some of the values of the White middle class was in the interests of that class. In other words, the notion of "class raising" was not only for labour purposes, although the idea of a stable work force being one well housed and fed did not escape the stewards of the city. It is also reasonable to suggest that the "uplifting" of the Coloured community would also increase the general purchasing of commodities in the population. Consider the following letter from the Secretary for Labour to the Town Clerk informing him of the concerns of the Advisory Council of Labour and its desire to have the Coloured population of the Peninsula properly housed

> with a view to promoting conditions which will tend to raise it in the scale of civilisation. It is the belief of the Council that the Coloured population, if not throughout all sections, at least in a good many sections, has in it the makings of a good class of citizen, and that all sections can be definitely raised under more favourable conditions of housing and other social and educational considerations.[25]

The idea of class was intimately tied to the idea of ownership, the idea being that those who owned their dwellings would raise their own sense of Self and their status in the eyes of

Others. Ownership of property was valued in its own right as an investment and an undeniable right. Yet there was also a belief that ownership of a dwelling induced greater social responsibility and integration with the economy. This view was clearly stated by Councillor Lewis at a meeting with the CHB in considering the Benning housing scheme:

> He was of the opinion that the standing of the coloured man who owns his house would be increased and that he would realise his importance as a citizen, and stated that a man who rents a house would not do any repairs to it, but no matter how tired he was he would whitewash and repair his own house.[26]

The nuances of Lewis's ideas need to be explored. Whitewash was understood at the time as a way of disinfecting houses, the lime acting as an anti-bacterial, and thereby ridding houses of whatever residual plague or 'flu or pox that was perhaps lingering or germinating in the plaster. The idea of repairing is part of the lessons of ownership and the value of possession. Yet both these concerns, when read against the phrase 'the standing of the coloured man' carry with them a fundamental consideration of the visual; a concern for appearance, and appearing to be middle class and appearing to the middle class. The housing question, then, was not simply the provision of adequate dwelling spaces for those without, but fundamentally the production of a class of people sharing in the values of the English middle class. Consider the words of Councillor Goldicott, who, at a public meeting in order to promote the idea of the Assisted Housing Scheme, voiced the opinion that 'a man who owns his own house is a better citizen to the city he lives in. He is a man with incentive – something to inspire him'.[27] The inverse sentiment was expressed at another conference involving the CHB five years later. A delegate from Durban stated 'that if houses were to be let, a home would not be created'.[28] The sanctity of the owned home over the leased dwelling was present even when the need for more leased homes was being promoted. Consider this quote from the *AB&E*:

> The latest census intensifies the shadows of a deplorable condition, breeding insanitary, immoral and unhealthy conditions, dragging down good citizenship to its lowest ebb. We hope that the publicity given to this serious question will focus the attention of those who should, but do not give thought to the elimination of this growing evil. A public policy is needed to develop better housing conditions for those who cannot afford to possess their own houses, in which they can live comfortably in the atmosphere of a 'home.'[29]

The 'atmosphere of a "home"' is the key phrase. The sentiment at the core of this statement is that a rented dwelling was really only the simulation of a real home.

The dwelling-environment of specific areas such as Wells Square was often referred to as the cause for crime in that vicinity. G.D. Gray, the Deputy Commissioner for the South

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[25] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/4/504: Assisted Housing Cape Flats, 1925.05.22.
[26] [CAbox]3/CT 4/1/4/469: Conferences and Letters, CHB and H&EC, Conference between the CHB and the Special Committee, 1925.04.22.
[27] [News]CA 1923.01.17: 'A Million Pound Uproar.'
[28] [CAbox]3/CT 4/1/4/469: Conferences and Letters, CHB and H&EC, Record of the Proceedings at the Housing Conference, 1930.02.18.
[29] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.10, n.9, (April, 1927), p.18.

African Police in Cape Town stated that 'undoubtedly the insanitary dwellings, bad surroundings, and the one-and two-roomed houses of Wells Square, in which the decencies of life are not possible, have a great deal to do with the criminal behaviour of its population.'[30] The letter continues with the warning that 'this place [will] continue to be a centre of moral and physical contagion to the rest of Cape Town'. Ten years later, as if to ratify this prediction, the Woodstock magistrate declared: 'Crime in the Peninsula was largely due to bad housing,'[31] and went on to state that: 'I am certain that healthy housing has saved many a youth from being inoculated with a virus which has led to his becoming a charge upon the criminal administration of the State. By permitting the contrary, we are sterilising better stocks, increasing low types, and impoverishing national fitness'.

The use of medical and biological metaphors as instanced above, should not be overlooked and they will be focused on in a section below. However, if bad housing made criminals, the inverse was also thought to be true. The Rev. Dr. J.J. McClure, as part of the deputation from the Cape Evangelical Council to see the Public Health and Building Regulations Committee (hereafter PH&BRC) 'pointed out the advantages both physical and moral which would accrue to the community in question, by better housing'.[32] Mr Reagon of the African Political Organisation (ostensibly representing the interests of the Coloured middle class[33]) and in support of the Keurboom Road Housing scheme as proposed by the H&EC suggested 'if the Council's employees are properly housed it would have the effect of making them better citizens'.[34] It was not just dwellings or the houses themselves that were linked to the rate of crime or criminality. In an address given to the Benoni Rotary Club titled 'Town Planning,' A. Allen located one of the real causes of crime to be 'due to bad town planning'.[35] He goes on to suggest that a 'bad environment' does not necessarily produce a bad individual but accentuates pre-existing defects in character. Later in the article it becomes clear that he is suggesting a combination of environmental intervention and eugenics as a way of 'clearing our gaols of criminals and turning them into decent citizens.' Allen goes on to suggest that a nation is built up out of the character of its people, and the character of the people is largely determined by 'properly laid out and properly kept cities'. At the inaugural meeting of the Town Planning Association for Cape Town, A.H. Cornish-Bowden, the former Surveyor-General, not only listed the practical benefits that planning would have on orderly growth and traffic management but also that it was 'wrapped up with housing and the social betterment of the people'.[36]

Yet the reforming impulses of the English presented them with a paradox of their own making. There had been a longstanding desire on the part of missionaries to remove the circle as a structuring device from the dwellings and buildings of Natives in general, as a way

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[30] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/3/97 (31/3): Improvements to Wells Square, 1915.02.23.
[31] [News]*CA* 1925.08.07: 'Crime due to Bad Housing.'
[32] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/7: PH&BRC, 1915.12.15.
[33] Adhikari, M., '"The Product of Civilization in its most repellant manifestation": Ambiguities in the Racial Perceptions of the APO (African Political Organisation), 1909-1923' in *Journal of African History*, v.38, n.(97)
[34] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/12: H&EC, 1922.12.18.
[35] [Mag]*SAAR*, v.16, n.62, (June, 1931): 'Town Planning.'
[36] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.15, n.9, (April, 1932), p.27.

of continuing the "civilising" mission – the instrumentalist programme *par excellence*.[37] The Natal government had even offered tax incentives to those Natives who lived in orthogonal dwellings filled with Western furniture.[38] Both these moves were part of an attempt to inculcate Western values, especially that of privacy and individuality, through the compartmentalisation of use-spaces in specifically orthogonal rooms. It is clear that those writing the Tuberculosis Commission report in 1914 were happy to promote the occurrence of dwellings with multiple separate spaces as typified in the development of orthogonal homes, largely because this would give 'greater space and privacy to the individual occupants'.[39]

Yet they also presented these dwellings as problematic, as incomplete places of either the Self or the Other. It was particularly in the use of space that the mismatch was exposed. The Report identified the main problem as being that of dirt: 'For the square hut is generally much dirtier, its corners do not get cleaned out, its windows are frequently closed up, the materials of which it is constructed are less pervious to natural ventilation, and European furniture more often than not means the collecting of all sorts of rubbish of not the slightest utility, which is never shifted and is the harbourer of dirt'.[40] A condition in-between that of the "pure" Native dwelling and the "desired" detached dwelling, was basically intolerable. Not only was this in-betweeness considered to be dangerous in its social and health dimension for the potential "damage" to Natives in this colonial dystopia, but also because this hybridity pointed, in a psychological sense, to the potential break-down of the Self. In other words, the hybrid hut made a mockery of the niceties and foibles of those things that the stewards of the city held dear, such as the aesthetics of cleanliness and utility. Consequently, the Other needed to be maintained in a simulacra of the Self and that simulacra of the Self partly came in the form of that supreme socialising housing phenomenon, the Garden City Movement.

The Garden City Movement in Cape Town

There can be little doubt that the GCM (with its Arts & Crafts inspired cottages) was the single most important "grand" idea combining architectural, town planning and social concerns in Cape Town during the period of study. Although it gained in importance in the architectural world during the first few years of the twentieth century, it was in the 1920s that general enthusiasm for the GCM reached its zenith. The idea of the Garden City entered public consciousness in South Africa largely through the efforts of the wealthy merchant and parliamentarian Richard Stuttaford who had met its two major proponents, Howard and Unwin, in England in 1917– again significantly before the Influenza Epidemic – and later promoted his Pinelands Garden City scheme in parliament in Cape Town in 1919.[41] Stuttaford was by no means its only promoter. As will be shown, many favourable references were made specifically to the Garden City idea by councillors, architects, and public officials

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[37] For a thorough analysis of this with regards the Tswana people, see Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J., *Of Revelation and Revolution* p.287-322.
[38] [UGov]34-1914, Report of the Tuberculosis Commission, p.102.
[39] *Ibid.*, p.104.
[40] *Ibid.*, p.104.
[41] Cuthbertson, G. C., 'A New Town at Uitvlugt' p.11.

throughout the period of study. In particular, and perhaps of most significance for the country as a whole, the report of the Housing Commission of 1920 refers to books promoting GCM ideas as the models for future housing in South Africa.[42] Members of this commission later made up the CHB which was the main organ of the central government's housing programme, and continued to promote the ideas of the GCM as the primary form of urban development well into the 1930s. On the whole, however, this enthusiasm and promotion was simply to do with the products of the GCM rather than the somewhat complicated financial and legal processes involved in their development. It is in this sense that Pinelands, now a leafy suburb of Cape Town, *was* the first South African garden city, as their promotional literature so proudly proclaimed, for it did make use of the non-profit financial mechanisms developed by Howard. Yet it would not be wrong to suggest that the idea of the garden suburb, as distinct to the garden city, was central to the first major local government housing development in Cape Town called Maitland Garden Village (hereafter MGV), which preceded Pinelands by a few years, both in design and inception.[43] The predominance of this idea of the garden suburb in the housing scheme proposals in Cape Town is investigated in-depth in the next chapter.

Whilst it is important for this study to illustrate how architectural ideas and theories were transferred from England to South Africa as the example of Stuttaford shows, it is not my intention to investigate the role trends in England may have played in maintaining a sense of an English identity for architects in South Africa – although the impact the cultural and personal cache of being up to date with current ideas may have had on the cityscape should not be underestimated. What is important to acknowledge, and what is at the base of this investigation into identity formation, is that it was this simplification of the Garden City idea into the image of the garden suburb (which was harnessed by the Cape Town Council, Central Government and other semi-public organisations over and again), that became crucial to the strengthening of an English identity and Whiteness in general. Standish Meacham, in *Regaining Paradise,*[44] investigates the way a vision of Englishness informed the products of the GCM and the way those products themselves were intended to strengthen a sense of Englishness. One of the key points he makes is that the GCM proponents, through their social reform program, were instrumental in the establishment and reinforcement of an English identity that was particularly anti-urban.[45] Not only did the GCM valorise the English rural landscape, but it tended to valorise a pre-industrial landscape in the vein of the historicist visions of Pugin. Again, in *Regaining Paradise*, Meacham argues that precursor GCM projects, such as Port Sunlight and Bournville, presented a 'sanitized and romanticized version of life as it had been. In their governance and, probably more important, in the way daily life was dominated by the presence of their beneficent founders,

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[42] The books referred to are listed as New Townsmen: *New Towns After the War: An Argument for Garden Cities,* and Ewart Culpin's *Garden City Movement Up-to-date*, see [UGov]UG4-1920: Report of the Housing Committee.
[43] Although Ndabeni had been generated out of municipal concerns, it was nevertheless developed by the central government of the Cape Colony. It should also be noted that some twenty cottages had also been erected by the then separate municipality of Mowbray in 1902.
[44] Meacham, S., *Regaining Paradise.*
[45] *Ibid.*, p.16

they bespoke paternalistic hierarchical relationships from the past'.[46] Notwithstanding the more socialist strands of the GCM, I would like to suggest that part of the process of housing schemes instituted by the Cape Town City Council, driven as it was by contemporary architectural discourse, was an attempt to recreate a more familiar and historicist landscape at the Cape where the image of the hierarchical social order of the past was recreated. As we shall see in the final chapter, attempts at recreating the image of this hierarchical past were not entirely successful. It was simply with the reduction of the Garden City idea to that of the Garden Suburb that the single-family detached dwelling became the only architectural element capable of holding this restructuring together.

Yet to name the "single-family detached dwelling" and leave it abstracted as a typology is to empty it of the nuances and depth of meaning that the dwelling type would have conjured for any contemporary Englishman. And so, if "cottages" or "villas" are referred to in contemporary texts, and indeed, even by myself in what follows, it is crucial that the reader understands that they carry a weightiness of meaning that the phrase "single-family detached dwelling" necessarily removes. Thus, in debates about the housing problem and the slums of Cape Town, even something seemingly innocence such as the use of the word "cottage" suggests that the topic be approached or analysed in terms of questions of identity for it hints at a particular vision of the world and of a world with a certain order, one that dovetails with the rural vision of the GCM and the Arts & Crafts movement. Given that the GCM, at least in its precursor projects, was part of the desired reproduction of a pre-existing, hierarchical world, and given that the GCM was the dominant model by which housing could be provided, it seems reasonable to suggest that the use of the word "cottage" was ideologically charged. In a world of Empire where the English were more English abroad than at "Home" the use of the word "cottage" would have conjured a rural, hierarchical landscape where a landed gentry presided over a happy working-class community. In fact, the word "cottage" is more often than not preceded by the word "workman's."

Thus to speak of a "cottage" at the time would be to imagine a kind of wholesome, pre-industrial existence being lived, but it was also a confirmation of class structures containing some form of natural or pre-existent order. Certainly, throughout all the archives investigated, and during the period of study, the word "cottage" is almost ubiquitous when future domestic spaces were being imagined.[47] The words of Raymond Unwin given near the beginning of this chapter are a perfect example of the tendency to promote "cottages" as the ideal housing type. But the imagining away the threat of the city and its tenements through the use of the word "cottage" was more than the mental recreation of an idyllic past, for if the tenement was the abode of the anarchist and communist, then the cottage was the home of the happy worker, content in their limitations, and possessed of a Sameness that made them unthreatening. A world where the dangerous inner city was being eradicated and

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[46] *Ibid.*, p.43

[47] It should be noted that occasionally the word was also used to describe the individual unit in a rowhouse. After the First World War, however, its meaning was almost exclusively for the detached dwelling. For the clearest general confirmation of this, refer to the minutes of the H&EC, and their discussion of any of the housing schemes

repopulated with suburban cottages – albeit only in their minds – perhaps allowed the stewards of the city a less threatened sense of their "rightful" control of Cape Town.

Competitions, Exhibitions, Models and the "Supra-Real"

This chapter has focused on mainly verbal or written representations of the ideal "model homes" that the stewards of the city imagined could restructure the domestic space of Cape Town into something more to their liking. There were, however, events similar to these verbal or written representations that occupy a peculiar area between the real and the representational. This following section is thus concerned with a few examples of representations that were almost real or quasi-restructurings in their own right. This includes the proliferation of design competitions for model homes, the exhibitions emerging from the slum and housing questions, and the use of what I am identifying as the "supra-real." This latter category is perhaps inclusive of exhibitions but is more focused on three-dimensional manifestations of model dwellings. Separated from their context in an almost totemistic manner, these "model dwellings" were moved beyond the real into the symbolic, and gained much force through being part of a public spectacle in the administrative spaces of the city. Before these exhibitions and other events are explored, it is necessary to consider plans and sketches of cottages not intended for specific parts of the city – in other words, abstract models. The sources for these are the competitions organised by newspapers and those models developed by governmental and other public officials.

6.1 Central Housing Board, plan of 3-roomed semi. Source: [UGov]CHB Report: 31st December, 1920.

The CHB, which originated out of the 1919 Housing Commission, included (as Annexure C in its first annual report of 1920) a set of model plans that it considered would be adequate and which it would support if used to apply for funding. As such these model plans were not blueprints for municipalities, but more like models against which municipal engineers and architects could check their own designs, before applying to the CHB for financial assistance. These were sent to all municipalities in South Africa in the form of a memorandum.[48] What is important to notice is that the plans were all semidetached dwellings, specifically restricted to a single-family unit, whilst the minimum accommodation

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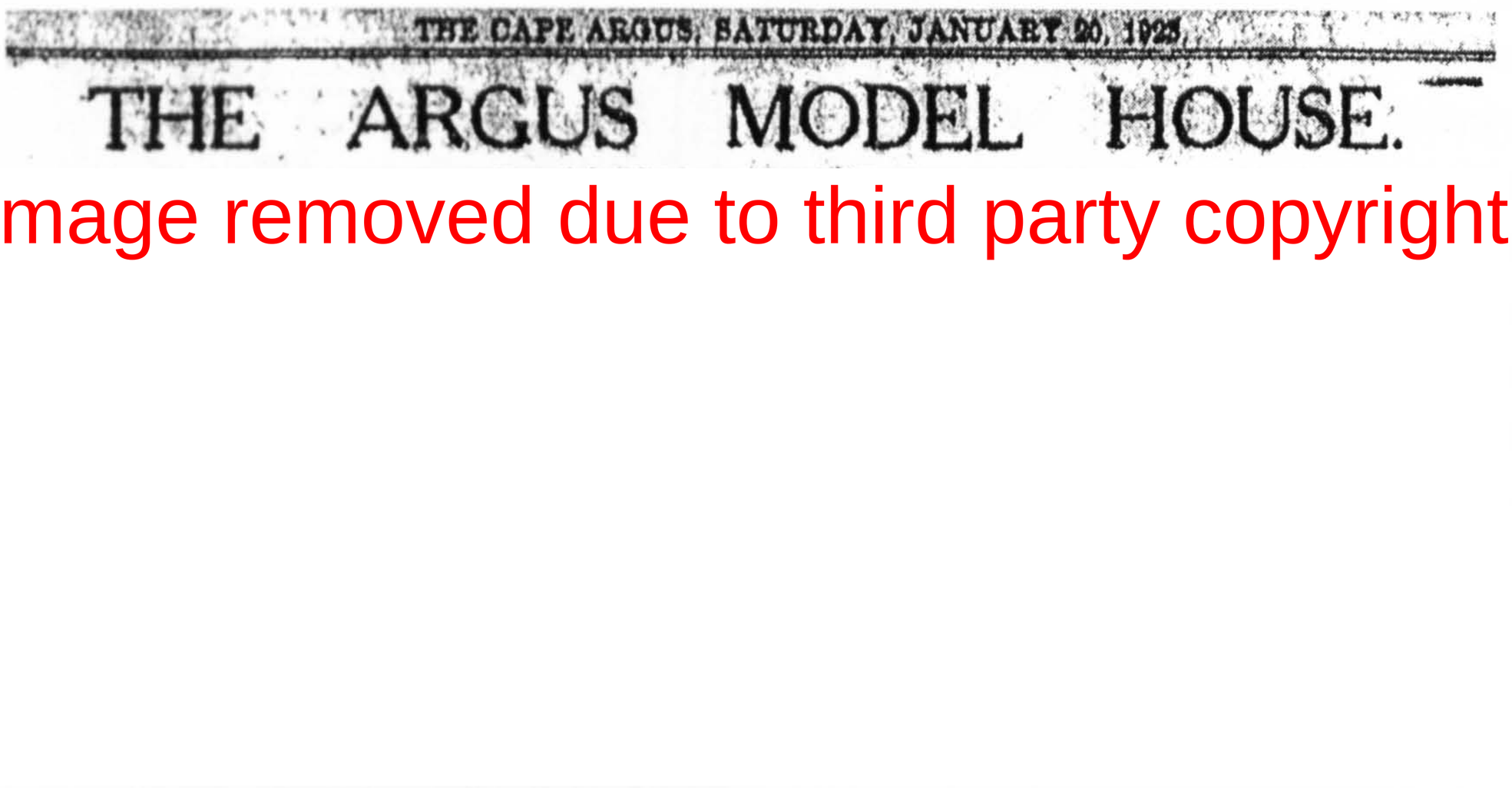
proposed and constructed during the period of study such as MGV and the Oude Molen scheme wherein "cottage" is the word used almost exclusively to describe the proposed dwellings.

[48] [UGov]CHB Report: 31st December, 1920, p.1.

that they would consider helping to finance was a three-roomed semi. It is also important to note the proscription of activities and functions as envisaged through the labelling of the plans, which is a clear antidote to a phenomenon found to be problematic in the domestic space of Others, namely its undifferentiated character (Figure 6.1) The role the CHB played in restructuring the domestic space of Cape Town will be made clearer in the following chapter.


THE CAPE ARGUS, SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1923.

THE ARGUS MODEL HOUSE.

Image removed due to third party copyright

6.2 Perspective drawing of Lockwood Hall's 2nd place design for the 1925 Argus Model House Competition. Source: [News]*CA* 1925.01.20.

Notwithstanding the Workman's Metropole tenement, the first suburban housing scheme of the Cape Town municipality, namely MGV, was the product of an open architectural competition. The final chapter deals more thoroughly with it, but there were many other small competitions that were run at the time, and, although not implemented, they offer a clear vision of what architects and other stewards of the city considered to be the perfect or model home. Many newspapers around the country were the sponsors of what they called "ideal" or "model" home competitions. Some even sponsored garden competitions.[49] Whilst some competitions were set with a maximum cost in mind, others were simply presented as options as to what one might expect after spending a certain amount of money. This latter group were also not necessarily generated through competitions, but are included here because they stem from the same concern, as led and promoted by newspapers. What is remarkable about them is that they all have their common ideal in the single-family detached unit, and the designs are focused on achieving this ideal with the minimum of financial and cultural compromise.

One of the first competitions to be organised was the Cape Argus 'Model House' design competition of late 1922 which was published in early 1923 (Figure 6.2). The cost of each house on average was roughly £1,100 and was largely way beyond the means of most of the urban poor. The "model house" was to initially have three rooms, excluding the kitchen and a servant's room, and was to be located on a 50' x 100' plot. The results were typical of

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[49] [News]*CA* 1926.11.11: 'Argus Gardening Competition.'

what would have been considered a cottage in Arts & Crafts parlance. What is apparent from the designs and as expressed by the second place winner, J. Lockwood Hall, was that the need for a hall was unquestionable no matter what the 'class' of dweller or cost of dwelling, given the presence of a live-in servant or maid[50] (Figure 6.3). It is also interesting to note how, in South Africa's White suburbia, this spatial segregation increased as the living quarters for this maid or servant progressively moved over the years from within the space of the house, into the back, typically as part of the garage. Another point of consideration is the unplaced but published entry of Martin Adams, an architectural student at the recently established school of architecture at the University of Cape Town. His design included a "cosy fireplace" as labelled on his plan – a clear reference to some of the considerations of the Arts & Crafts movement.

6.3 J. Lockwood Hall's 2nd place design for the 1925 Argus Model House Competition. The Servant's room is at the top left corner. Source: [News]*CA* 1925.01.20.

A few years later, the *AB&E* ran a competition for housing for the 'poorer classes,' which, if 100 were constructed, the cost of each needed to be below £200, excluding the stove and drainage.[51] The editors were aware of the need for three bedrooms in order to 'house in decency and comfort the parents and the children of both sexes,' but felt that the house was initially to have only two bedrooms and then be added to later. As part of the publication of the winning entries, the editors included their version of the competition. Along with a strong sense for functional detailing, they also noted that 'the narrow sides of the building do not contain any openings that could be overlooked and the privacy of the interior of the building thus destroyed,' and further, that the 'bedrooms are sufficiently far apart to ensure privacy.' The most striking aspect of the editors' "entry" is its Arts & Crafts character, although this is only manifested through the external appearance of the cottage – the lack of telltale "nooks" and "dens" on the plan suggests that Arts & Crafts concerns were happily considered as superficial and image effects.

Also of interest is the concern showed for the urban design aspects of the imagined housing scheme and ways of introducing variety in the appearance of the designs, such as the *cul-de-sac* of the *AB&E* house. The ability for the first prize entry, designed by J.H. Brownlee, the architectural lecturer at the University of Cape Town, to produce variety in the landscape thanks to its "L" plan form, was also noted (Figure 6.5). One of the negative aspects noted, was the use of corrugated iron for the roof so as to reduce the overall cost of

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[50] [News]*CA* 1923.01.20: 'The Argus Model House.'
[51] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.11, n.5 (December, 1927), p.8-13.

6.4 The *AB&E*'s "entry" for their housing competition. Source: [Mag]*AB&E*, December, 1927.

the project. Although the plan could easily accommodate a semi-detached layout, this possibility was not commented on by the editor, nor was it considered in the overall project design; clearly the single-family detached unit was the only legitimate dwelling under consideration.

Promotion of "ideal" or "model" homes by newspapers and magazines was not limited to competitions. The *Cape Argus* newspaper ran an article titled 'A £1,250 House: What Can be Done,' and signed 'By a S. African Architect'. The article clearly points to the need for 'small houses' – 'cottages' and 'bungalows' – to be provided at a small cost, but also, in true spirit of the Arts & Crafts, demanded that these eliminate the 'superfluous and fanciful and to make use and clear expression of local materials and conditions'. As a showcase of what was possible given a limited budget and the minimum accommodation required the article presented Walgate and Ellsworth's design for G.A. van Oordt's 'cottage' for Pinelands Garden City. The author commended the architects on their sympathetic use of 'traditional local materials – thatch and plaster.' Important to the Arts & Crafts sentiment was that houses be simple and fairly undecorated and, as they said, 'not contorted to satisfy any false idea of the beautiful'.

In 1927, the Master Builder's Association, in seeking to promote their view of what low-cost housing should be, suggested a design that was simple to the extreme and lacking in any Arts & Crafts sentiment yet was reputed to cost £150. Such was the importance of the housing question and the aim of promoting the proper model, that this 'cottage' came to be

built on the Parade, Cape Town's largest public square, and consequently became known as the Parade Cottage or Parade House[52] (Figure 6.6). This small dwelling captured the public's imagination such that the Council, who had originally authorised the Cape Peninsula Building and Allied Trades Association to build the Parade Cottage on the 28th July 1927 for a three-month period, was happy to extend this.[53] In fact, when the CHL proposed to take over the running and maintenance of the exhibition cottage in order to keep the model present in the public eye, the H&EC was granted permission[54] by the City Council to provide them with a £6

6.5 J.H. Brownlee's winning entry for the *AB&E*'s 1927 housing competition. Source: [Mag]*AB&E*, December 1927.

monthly maintenance. The Parade Cottage also became such a reference point that the H&EC, in considering the Oude Molen and Devil's Peak housing schemes, referred to the proposed houses as 'Parade Cottages'.[55]

Yet, not everyone was ebullient about the design of the cottage. The editor of the *AB&E*, whilst considering it better than the 'wretched tenements in which our poorer citizens, both white and coloured, at present have their being,' felt that it would be a 'tragedy from the public expenditure and from the public interest point of view' if hundreds were to be built.[56] Even if their objections arose largely from what they thought was poor planning for the use of the space and the privacy of the inhabitants, and the proposition that the dwelling did not

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[52] [CAmin]3/CT 1/4/9/1/1/12: H&EC, 1927.09.22
[53] [CAmin]3/CT 1/4/9/1/1/14: H&EC, 1929.05.16
[54] [CAmin]3/CT 1/4/9/1/1/13: H&EC, 1928.06.21
[55] [CAmin]3/CT 1/4/9/1/1/12: H&EC, 1927.10.24
[56] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.11, n.2 (September, 1927), p.13

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6.6 The Parade Cottage, 1927. Source: [Mag]*AB&E*, September 1927.

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6.7 Slums on display driven through the streets of Cape Town - the 'actual' condition of slums, Housing Week, 1929. Source: [News]*CT* 1929.08.12.

quite conform to building regulations, there is a sense that it was the complete lack of Arts & Crafts motifs that they found most problematic. To prove their point, they promoted the competition for low-cost houses as already discussed above, in which Arts & Crafts detailing was made more manifest. Certainly, there was a definite link being made before that time between the ability of "art" to "uplift" the poorer sectors of the community,[57] a link that the Arts & Crafts was manifesting in building design too. At a meeting of the South African Guild of Arts & Crafts, at which the architect and frequent contributor to the *AB&E*, W.J. Delbridge, handed over presidency to the architect Frank Kendall, the Secretary Arthur Cook wanted to promote the world of art and urged all to 'hold themselves responsible for seeing that the children who were being born into such conditions [of the world today] were supplied with the right surroundings and influence, for these would materially alter their characters and their whole lives'.[58] The *AB&E*'s scorn for the Parade Cottage was most likely based on a concern for the "uplifting" effect that a more picturesque building would have had on its occupants.

The Parade Cottage was not the only "model" dwelling to gain symbolic importance being constructed and exhibited in public space. As part of the Argus Modern Homes Exhibition in 1933, a house was constructed on the stage of the City Hall at full scale.[59] Not only was the house given supra-real status through this placement on the stage of the City Hall, but the exhibition was opened by a switch thrown in London that lit this particular house up. The connection was fairly significant for two reasons. Firstly, the symbolic act of Englishness en-lightening the Cape with the flick of a switch at the heart of the Empire is the perfect analogy for ideas of this chapter. Secondly, it was in London in 1851 and under the instigation of Prince Albert that the first Model Cottage was put on display in the Great Exhibition;[60] through the passage of time and colonisation, then, came all the good things from the motherland.

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[57] The idea that fine art, especially painting, could uplift and educate the morally bereft working classes was a common middle and upper class sentiment, see, Waterford, G., *Art for the People. Culture in the Slums of Late Victorian Britain,* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1994)
[58] [News]*CT* 1919.06.21: 'S.A. Guild of Arts & Crafts.'
[59] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.17, n.5 (December, 1933), p.26.
[60] Bauer, C., *Modern Housing*, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1935)p.67.

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6.8 Cottages on display driven through the streets of Cape Town - the 'desired' house, Housing Week, 1929. Source: [News]*CT* 1929.08.12.

The biggest event to publicise and promote the cottage ideal was the Housing Week organised by the Council and a number of interested charities and organisations, and was held in the City Hall in August 1929. Although the PH&BRC had been promoting Health Weeks during the 1920s (keeping in line with themes generated in London),[61] this was the first event that focused specifically on the issues of slums and housing. Not only were the interiors of slum dwellings painted on canvasses and hung on the walls and films of slums shown constantly, but a lorry carrying a 'dilapidated tin hut' was driven through Cape Town's streets as part of a Saturday procession (Figure 6.7). A central aspect of the exhibition was the contrasting what newspaper called the 'actual' with the 'desirable.' Thus, another lorry forming part of the procession was re-crafted into a kind of cottage-on-wheels with the Afrikaans phrase 'Wat Die Volk Nodig Het' painted on its side. This was depicted in the *Cape Times* with a caption interpreting the phrase as 'What Many Need – A Model Cottage,' which would perhaps be more directly translated as 'What the People Need'[62] (Figure 6.8). The Housing Week, given much credence by the presence of Princess Alice and Dr Malan (the Minister of the Interior and Education) at the opening, certainly helped promote the cottage as an ideal to be sought after and fought for.

Conclusion

For the stewards of the city, the "home" was a social condition only to be adequately manifested through the single-family detached unit. Any other typology, and even "unusual" building materials and techniques, were somehow considered Other, or less-than adequate. Combined with the idea of environmental determinism, and the emerging dominance of the GCM and its Arts & Crafts houses, the stewards of the city started to imagine "cottages" as the instruments by which Others could be rendered unthreatening – if not as a "Self," then at least by appearing to be the "Same." Through a series of representations involving competitions, exhibitions and "supra-real" events played out as spectacles in the public space of the city, the identity of Englishness (as signified through the cottage) was paraded and "naturalised" as essential, whilst other conditions of being in the city were excluded or problematised and the city itself was represented as the source of social and aesthetic problems. These models of the Self, however, also had an impact in the *physical* restructuring of the domestic space of Cape Town, and consequently the identity of its

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[61] See, [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/16: PHBRC, 1922.08.11; [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/16: PHBRC, 1924.08.20.
[62] [News]*CT* 1929.08.12: 'Housing Week Begins: Scenes in Saturday's Procession.'

inhabitants. It is to the interventions and restructuring of the physical space of the city that I now turn.

7. Boundaries to the Self and Other:
Legal Restrictions, The Development of Restructuring Institutions, and Non- Project-specific Restructuring

Introduction

The previous three chapters laid out, not only how representations of domestic space came to represent particular identities, but also what conditions of domestic space and the city were considered by the stewards of the city to be illegitimate or legitimate and how those conditions were thought to have a direct bearing on the welfare of its inhabitants and, as a result, on the stewards themselves. The final part of this thesis looks at how the stewards of the city set about, not only restructuring and structuring parts of the city of Cape Town in ways that would meet their conditions of legitimacy, but also how this allowed Others and Other-spaces to be restructured into a more familiar, and less threatening, Same. The final chapter examines these issues in relation to project-specific events in Cape Town, and includes analyses of Wells Square, Maitland Garden Village, the Roeland Street scheme, Ndabeni, Langa, and Pinelands. This chapter, however, considers the role and extent to which non-project specific legal restrictions (such as building regulations) played in the structuring of the city as a White space. It was only after the municipal unification of Cape Town and the southern suburbs in 1913 that efforts increased to rationalise and consolidate the diverse building regulations into a comprehensive set eventually promulgated in 1920. This set of building regulations, along with the Public Health Act of 1919, the Provision of Homes Ordinance of 1919 and the Housing Act of 1920, were very significant legal determinates effecting the structuring of the City. I would like to suggest that debates in the decade leading to these legislative restrictions in which the Cape Institute of Architects (hereafter CIA) took part, and the increased presence of Natives in the city, led to an explicit attempt to structure the environment along lines in keeping with the aesthetic and social values of the stewards of the city. This can also be read as an attempt to structure the identity of various racial and class groups through the environment. However, before exploring these ideas I would first like to cover the minor restructuring undertaken by the Council and its Committees in the years leading up to these legislative events.

Early Statutes and Regulations, City Council Committees, & Restructuring

As has been mentioned in Chapter Four, ad hoc attempts had been made in the nineteenth century to restructure the fabric of the city, in particular through the removal of some *stoeps* in what was generally understood to be a "street improvement". When the city became a fully-fledged municipality in 1867, it gained an elected council supported by a secretary, a treasurer and a few sanitary inspectors as well as a few minor building regulations.[1] The presence of the sanitary inspectors reflected the contemporary emergence of sanitation as a major issue in municipal affairs in England.[2] It was through the creation of the post for City Engineer (hereafter CE) in 1876 and the emergence of the first comprehensive set of

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[1] Bickford-Smith, V., *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Cape Town*, p.47.

building and health regulations in 1889 that attempts to structure the city gained legal and institutional credibility. This, it should be noted, was largely restricted to proposed development and had little impact on the existing city structure. The establishment of the Public Health and Building Regulations Committee (hereafter PH&BRC) in 1899 provided the city with a committee of council-members who could adjudicate the CE's reports on a case-by-case basis and make recommendations for intervention in the city structure and existing fabric of buildings. The other fairly significant committee that was instituted was the Improvements and Parks Committee (I&PC), formed in 1913.[3] The I&PC (divided into two basic sub-committees, the one concerned with the City's beaches and entertainment programme and the other with the general physical appearance and amenities of the city) played a fairly significant part in the structuring of the city, as we shall see below.

The initial work of the PH&BRC revolved largely around two judgements: those concerning unauthorised buildings and whether to allow them to remain, and those involving buildings that the CE and the Medical Officer of Health (hereafter MOH) deemed "unfit for human habitation." Although there is evidence to suggest that the PH&BRC occasionally used the former to force the removal of Natives from the city,[4] the classification of 'unfit for human habitation' seems to have been generally not racially motivated, and also had not begun to target any specific area or neighbourhood for removal. In all likelihood this can be attributed to the effective relocation and containment of Natives at Ndabeni, as well as to the less segregationist attitude of the stewards of the city in respect of those classed "Coloured." The immigration of Natives to the city was also certainly not as extensive and noticeable in the first decade of the 20th century as it was during and following WWI.

Most of the early work done by the PH&BRC was necessarily focused on the areas of Old Cape Town, although this changed after municipal unification in 1913 when the focus shifted to the southern suburbs. The orders to close – mostly meaning that repairs and remedial work, rather than demolition, was undertaken – were not extensive: in 1913, a little under 30 were issued.[5] In the municipal year 1916-1917, there were 17 entries for 'houses unfit for human habitation,' of which two were in Cape Town, one in Kensington, and the rest in the more affluent suburbs of St. James, Muizenberg, Lakeside, and Bakoven.[6] This may have been indicative of the general *laissez-faire* approach to the inner-city itself, the self-interest of those in power who largely lived in the suburbs and the fact that major development was being undertaken in these areas. Whatever sense there was of Old Cape Town as "slum" did not dominate the workings of the PH&BRC at the time, its members seemed more interested in looking after their own immobile assets and those of people who had elected them. This self-interest is also reflected in the extensive use of the phrase 'prejudicial to property' in the motivation for forced demolition or closing orders after

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[2] Radford, D., 'Byelaws and Buildings: Regulating the Colonial City in South Africa' in *SA Architect*, v.(98)
[3] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/1: I&PC.
[4] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/2: PH&BRC, 1901.03.18,
[5] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/5: PH&BRC, Index.
[6] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/8: PH&BRC, Index.

municipal unification.[7] The general disregard for the inner-city before and immediately after municipal unification was perhaps indicated by an amendment to Regulation 101 in 1902, allowing the unbuilt rear space of a lot to be reduced from 10' to 5.' Although the amendment was quashed by the intervention of the Colonial Secretary,[8] it illustrates that the built density of the city had not begun to dominate the restructuring and intervention capacities of the City and its Committees. As we will see, this changed from around 1915, whereupon the inner-city and its high densities began to form the focus of the City Council.

Apart from the remedial and cosmetic requirements of having buildings painted and repaired, much of the intervention in these early years was based around fairly easily quantified issues such as minimum headroom requirements. For example, after inspecting the cottage in Wilderness Road in Claremont belonging to Mr John Julie, the sub-committee of the PH&BRC required that the roof be raised in order to make it 'fit for human habitation'.[9] Another concern was for the presence of animals within the city and their adjacency to dwellings. For example, closing orders were issued on the stables at 6 to 8 Jarvis Road in Cape Town on account of the loft above being occupied as a dwelling.[10] The same issue was raised with regards to the stable at 16 Dixon Street owned by Mr J.S. De Villiers.[11] The PH&BRC also continued with the general 'street improvements' that had begun with the removal of *stoeps* and other encroachments on streets. Street improvements continued throughout the course of study causing the occasional boundary wall to be demolished and put right such as at 217 Hanover Street in 1908.[12]

'Temporary' Buildings, Corrugated Iron Areas and Rural Ideals

The beginnings of intervention in the visual appearance of the environment is indicated by the PH&BRC's attitude to corrugated iron. As early as 1906, the CE prepared a list of 'temporary sheds' within the city.[13] There is reason to believe that this list was limited in the areas covered and reflected the self-interest of the committee members. For example, the PH&BRC resolved in October 1907 that 'the application of Mr. Mitchell to retain the galvanised iron shed at the foot of Adderley Street be not acceded to having regard to the desirability of improving the general appearance of the foreshore in view of the approaching gala season'.[14] Furthermore, it seems that the eventual development of building regulations pertaining specifically to the use of wood-and-iron dwellings emerged out of a concern to regulate the appearance of seaside resorts such as Camps Bay and Sea Point. These had developed as places of "temporary" dwellings and campsites during the summer months. The PH&BRC had, as early as 1907, made attempts to introduce regulations for the 'control of camping sites and to regulate the class of structure to be permitted'. By 1913 the PH&BRC had resolved to withhold building permission for wood-and-iron bungalows until

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[7] See, for example, [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/7: PH&BRC.
[8] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/2A: PH&BRC, 1902.08.21.
[9] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/6: PH&BRC, 1915.05.20.
[10] *Ibid.*, 1915.06.03.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/3: PH&BRC, 1908.11.04.
[13] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/2B: PH&BRC, 1906.10.04.

regulations could be introduced to set aside areas for wood-and-iron dwellings in the seaside environs, which were becoming permanently inhabited. Removing existing wood-and-iron structures was left largely in the hands of the MOH[15] who, it seems, in the process of issuing closing orders on dwellings tended to focus mostly on these types of structures. The Cape Municipal Ordinance of 1912 particularly disallowed the municipalities from "arbitrarily prohibiting" the erection of wood-and-iron structures. The PH&BRC acted somewhat beyond its jurisdiction in 1916 when it resolved to allow the erection of only brick or stone dwellings on First to Fourth Street north of the Main Road in the Kensington Estate area.[16] This was ostensibly to prevent wood-and-iron dwellings from being seen from this street and was a general form of prohibition that the Ordinance disallowed. In keeping with Chapter Four, the issue of the aesthetics of the visual generated one of the first non-project-specific restructurings undertaken in the city.

With the increasing discourse around the need for a housing policy, the question of wood-and-iron dwellings came into focus in 1916. At the instruction of a Sub-Committee formed to investigate the housing problem, the CE investigated a series of sites in the areas of Mowbray, Maitland, West London, Claremont and Retreat, with the aim of defining areas in which wood-and-iron dwellings and 'dwellings of a cheaper class' could be located.[17] Less than a month later it was resolved to define the following areas as zones where wood-and-iron dwellings could be erected (Figure 0.1 for the second area listed below):

> 1. Area at Maitland bounded by the Koeberg Road from Church Street, Brooklyn, to the boundary of the City in the Milnerton direction, and all land on the west side of such portion of the Koeberg Road to the Salt River. 2. The area bounded on the north by the Klipfontein Road where it crosses the Krombooms River to the City boundary in Claremont, on the East by the City boundary at Claremont between the Klipfontein and Lansdowne Roads, on the South by the Landsdowne Road between the City boundary at Philippi and the Krombooms River between the Landsdowne and Klipfontein Roads.[18]

Along with the Retreat District which was also included in the zoning, these areas were peripheral, undeveloped spaces where poorer people had been erecting their own dwellings. It is important to recognise that the admission of wood-and-iron dwelling zones into the city boundaries was seen as a temporary measure aimed at dealing with the emerging housing shortage. Thus the 1920 building regulations not only allowed the PH&BRC to restrict wood-and-iron dwellings to specific spaces or zones in the city but also, through regulation 967, to a specific time period determined by the PH&BRC. Most licences for wood-and-iron dwellings were given subject to a six-month order to demolish. Occasionally, licences were given with the possibility for one month's notice to demolish. This limit was normally only given for dwellings that had been erected without a licence and had been examined by the PH&BRC, the MOH or a sanitary inspector, and for which retroactive plans had been submitted. Without prejudicing their ability to order demolition on a case-by-case basis, the

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[14] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/3: PH&BRC, 1907.10.17.
[15] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/6: PH&BRC, 1914.06.04.
[16] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/7: PH&BRC, 1916.02.22.
[17] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/8: PH&BRC, 1916.10.25.

PH&BRC eventually resolved that all wood-and-iron dwellings were liable to be demolished by the year 1931 at six months notice[19] although some remain to this day in Athlone.[20] With regards to "temporary" structures therefore, the domestic space of the city was structured with the dual dimensions of time and space.

"Temporary" dwellings were not limited to wood-and-iron only. The hierarchy of material discussed in Chapter Four came to play a part in what defined a building as "temporary." In 1921, sun-dried bricks were to be allowed in the areas set aside for wood-and-iron dwellings 'upon the distinct understanding that such erections are regarded as temporary buildings and will be subject to the terms and conditions governing temporary structures.'[21] In the debate leading to that resolution, Councillor A.B. Reid objected to their inclusion and eventually agreed to the resolution only if the structures of sun-dried brick were used to 'substitute those constructed of wattle, reeds and daub'.[22]

Prejudices were not limited to "temporary" dwellings and materials: although the PH&BRC committee resolved to allow the building of a reinforced concrete dwelling at Lakeside in 1914, it is significant that this non-brick building was flagged by the CE as a potential problem requiring the attention of the PH&BRC.[23] Part of the resolution of the PH&BRC was to leave the granting of permits for reinforced concrete dwellings at the discretion of the CE and the approval of the Council until the new regulations could bring this building material under its control. In fact, there is much evidence that the PH&BRC was very selective in its implementation of the regulations, choosing to be stringent in poor areas and very lax in more wealthy ones. For example, plans for a *pise-de-terre* hut – completely contrary to building regulations – at the seaside area of Camps Bay was approved as submitted,[24] although the request for the building to be thatched was denied on account of its close proximity to the property boundary and the limitations of regulation 825 restricting the use of thatch at least 50' from boundaries or other buildings.[25] The compromises and selective implementation of the building regulations as instanced in the above example is the topic of the following section.

Compromises to the Building Regulations and Rural Ideals

Before the implementation of the 1920 regulations, Kalk Bay's regulation 81, requiring non-combustible roofing material, was ignored in the case of the thatch roofing of an extension to Cecil Rhodes' cottage on the Main Road, Muizenberg.[26] Whilst it was noted that it was important for the addition to "fit-in" with the existing dwelling, it seems very likely that the house of this "great" man was not to be made ugly on account of the building regulations.

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[18] *Ibid.*, 1916.11.13.
[19] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/12: PH&BRC, 1920.12.10.
[20] Dumbrell, K., 'Athlone in the Early Twentieth-Century - a Precursor to Working Class Housing on the Cape Flats,' (University of Cape Town: Unpublished B.A. (Hons) Thesis, 1998).
[21] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/12: PH&BRC, 1921.03.01.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/6: PH&BRC, 1914.07.03.
[24] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/12: PH&BRC, 1921.02.16.
[25] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/13: PH&BRC, 1921.05.04.
[26] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/10: PH&BRC, 1918.11.14.

The PH&BRC seemed easily swayed in compromising the building regulations to bring a "correct" order to the built environment.

In a similar manner it should be noted that many of the old Cape Dutch homesteads had been constructed of sun-dried bricks some of which were located in areas of Cape Town in which they were technically disallowed. These buildings, prone as they were to dampness in the walls and harbouring bugs in the mud-plastered walls, escaped the attention of the MOH and the CE. This was not the case with the old thatched cottage of Krohne and Benning on Coronation Road, in the poorer area of Maitland, which was issued with closing orders for precisely these reasons.[27] Certainly as the housing problem became more acute in the early 1920s, the PH&BRC was more prone to allow wattle and daub structures erected in the "temporary" dwelling areas to remain subject to one month's notice to demolish, as the example of the unauthorised structures in the Retreat[28] and Crawford[29] areas suggest.

The question needs to be asked as to why – given the propensity of the time to hold the rural cottage as an ideal – the PH&BRC, the MOH and the CE did not consider self-built cottages such as these, practical and aesthetic answers to the developing housing problem. The fact that regulation 964[30] required that all dwellings have a double-pitched roof may have excluded some mono-pitched structures with corrugated iron roofs as less than ideal. In fact residents may have had to adjust existing monopitch roofs, as confirmed in the example of Abraham October and his wood-and-iron dwelling on 18th Street in the Kensington Estate. [31] But many of the self-built dwellings at the margins of the city did have thatched roofs and were set in forested areas. The answer perhaps lies in the desire for the simulacra of an age gone before and not the messy truth of its prior existence or the poverty of its present manifestation. In fact, the attitude of the PH&BRC, the CE and the MOH to the housing problem seems to perfectly sum-up the general contradictions of an age caught between the Romantic imaginings of a rural and socially conservative past of the Arts & Crafts and Garden City Movement, and the Modernist visions of a scientific and progressive future. Whatever Romantic image was to be presented was to be highly controlled in its social space – especially with regard to racial Others – and scientifically produced with the correct air volumes, ventilation and weapons against damp, dirt and disease employed. In short, it was the image of the bucolic ideal that was desired.

An example of this "resolved" contradiction was manifested in the 1920 building regulation 886 which effectively included the possibility of erecting a Tudor-style house using timber framing, as long as the infill was of brick and not the wattle and daub of the English past. Although there is no direct evidence to confirm it, it seems quite plausible that the CIA's consultation on the building regulations would have made sure that this Garden City and Arts & Crafts standard was specifically allowed in its "hygienic" form. In fact the PH&BRC was quite alive to the ideas of the picturesque and used the notion to guide their somewhat

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[27] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/8: PH&BRC, 1916.07.26.
[28] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/12: PH&BRC, 1920.05.13.
[29] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/13: PH&BRC, 1921.06.15.
[30] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/17: PH&BRC, 1923.06.20.
[31] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/20: PH&BRC, 1924.04.01.

uneven implementation of the building regulations. As already noted in Chapter Four, the summer-house 'log-cabin' off Belmont Road in Kalk Bay of Mrs Wyndham Clampett was required to have its corrugated-iron roof covered 'with spars so as to give the structure a rustic appearance'.[32] The PH&BRC also chose to ignore the fact that the Rev. G.E. Mason had built a summerhouse made of Jarrah poles lined with sailcloth on the inside and with a thatch roof within a few feet of his property boundary on Eureka Road in Rondebosch.[33] Less than a month after the new MOH, Tom Shadick Higgins, arrived from London, he visited the informal settlement of Kensington Estate and went on record as stating that 'it was more a question of civilisation than sanitation'.[34] He went on to state that '[a] terrible state of affairs is caused by people being allowed to erect an indescribable type of hovel, (some are made of sacking and are not 6 feet high)' and suggested that 'if it were at all possible steps should be taken in the future to prevent the erection of these unauthorised structures'. It is important to acknowledge that both the summerhouse of the Reverend and at least some of the 'hovels' of the Kensington residents were constructed of materials perhaps similar to dwellings pictured in the Tuberculosis Report (Figure 4.5). Yet the one was occupied by a respectable individual with a life made complete through the "aesthetic" conception of the summerhouse, whilst the other unnamed residents were to become the objects of a civilising mission that gave them "proper" dwellings.

Exactly what that civilising mission was to entail is the consideration of the next chapter dealing with the various housing programmes instituted by the City through the Housing and Estates Committee (hereafter H&EC). The crux of the matter was perhaps best summed up by Councillors Henshilwood and Somerville in 1922, who reported to the PH&BRC their findings on the extensive informal settlement occurring in Meadows Estate, Claremont. With regard to forcing the Coloured occupants to build 'proper' houses or to 'clear out' the Councillors reported:

> It is by no means certain that they can, or will, do either. They are their own architects and their own builders, and their ideas of house planning and house construction are not such as are likely to receive approval of our officials.[35]

It seems as though only an intentionally aesthetic life was a legitimate life.

Density: Municipal Structuring of Class and the Villa and Cottage as ideal

One of the tasks that fell to the I&PC was the control of subdivisions of larger estates. It is particularly significant that the request to subdivide one of the old Cape Dutch estates, Oranjezicht, on the foothills of Table Mountain was considered highly problematic for the I&PC and this was because they were not in position to deny the application.[36] The I&PC approached the PH&BRC urging them to institute regulations to allow the Council to prohibit the 'erection of buildings deemed by the Council to be objectionable by reason of either the

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[32] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/14: PH&BRC, 1921.10.25.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/18: PH&BRC, 1923.07.18.
[35] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/15: PH&BRC, 1922.05.10.
[36] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/4: I&PC, 1915.11.01.

nature of the building itself, or the uses to which it is to be put, or its environment,'[37] as was allowed in the Cape Municipal Ordinance of 1912. Whilst one may correctly recognise this item of the Ordinance as evidence of the emergence of modernist zoning principles in municipal discourse, I would like to suggest that part of its motivation stemmed from a concern for the preservation and presentation of buildings of a particular class "in the round" as well as the preservation and structuring of the "class" of a particular area. This point is confirmed by the I&PC, a committee concerned with the recreational and aesthetic life of the city, being the motivator for its inclusion in the building regulations. For their own part, the PH&BRC had been considering the plans for terrace housing submitted by Mr A.J.F.B. Erustzen in Worcester Road, Woodstock, expressed regret that they had no choice but to approve the application but felt that as there were 'some detached villas of a higher value' in the vicinity the project would be 'prejudicial to the property in the immediate neighbourhood'.[38] They resolved to try and coax the applicant into substituting a 'better class' of dwellings than those proposed.

The relationship between class and the idea of the building as isolated object set within a low density was eventually confirmed and structured in the building regulations of 1920. It should not be forgotten that the CIA, and in particular Kendall, had given extensive input in their drafting, ultimately having 25 of their 28 suggested amendments included.[39] Regulation 807 restricted the subdivision of estates to four to the gross acre for 'important residential districts,' six for 'ordinary residential districts,' eight to 12 for 'mixed districts' and 12 for 'shopping and industrial districts.' Regulation 808 went on to restrict the coverage of the site by building: no more than one-quarter of the site was to be built upon in 'important residential districts,' no more than one-third for 'ordinary residential districts,' and the rest being restricted to no more than one half. Exactly what determined the class of a residential district as 'ordinary' or 'important' was not laid out in the regulations and the City Engineer was most likely to take clues from already subdivided adjacent estates.

In case there was any doubt as to the underlying intentions of these density regulations to structure the class of a neighbourhood through restricting the type of building and the density of the neighbourhood, regulation 809 gave the Council the power to prohibit the erection of a building of a 'character detrimental to the rest of the buildings on a subdivided estate' as well as prohibiting where they saw fit the erection 'of any building intended for use as shops, cottage property in terraces, licensed premises, places of amusement or buildings of the factory class in such districts as may be deemed expedient.' Not only was class being structured through density regulations, but it was also being inferred through building typologies and the nebulously defined 'character' of a building. In essence, terrace houses with their association with the poorer working classes, were unceremoniously lumped together with other potential "nuisances" of the city such as pubs and factories.

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[37] *Ibid.*
[38] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/1/7: PH&BRC, 1915.10.07.
[39] [CAmin]A1659 v.1/3: CIA, 1917.05.18.

The example of plans submitted by J.E.C. Killey and Co. for six dwellings a property off Avenue de Longueville, Sea Point, provides an illustration of the values involved. Although the application was initially refused due to the density being six dwellings to a third of an acre, permission was granted when it was pointed out that there was nothing in the regulations preventing the owner from developing a block of flats on the site because 'the Sub-Committee were of opinion it was preferable to have six small detached houses instead of a block of flats'.[40] Approval was eventually rescinded following a site visit where it was agreed that the area should be classified as an 'important residential district,' which would put the maximum density at four to the acre.[41]

That the low-density restrictions were intended to have an impact on the city centre itself is without doubt. When Mr C. Paitaki submitted plans for a development of about 20 properties to the acre near Milner Road and Buitengracht Street, the CE pointed out that as an 'ordinary' residential district the maximum allowed would be 6 to the acre, whereupon the PH&BRC did not approve the plans.[42] The problem facing the CE was the areas of the city that had been subdivided to a density greater than 12 to the acre before the 1920 regulations.[43] In a meeting set up to deal with this problem, the Townships Board was insistent that 'a density exceeding 12 houses to the acre will only create slums,' and strongly recommended that the regulations be revised to prohibit this occurring.[44] When it was pointed out by J.Z. Drake of the PH&BRC that the lower densities disallowed the poorer classes affordable rents A.H. Cornish-Bowden, Surveyor General and Chairman of the Townships Board, pointed out that with frontages as low as 16 feet 'there was the aesthetical point of view to be considered, there was no provision in these small houses for a garden in front'.[45] The issue was partially resolved by the Township Board requiring the approval of a subdivided estate before any plans could be submitted thereby ensuring the "correct" densities were determined by plot size rather than building plan approval.[46]

Restrictions on density were not only intended to structure class through the environment, or secure public health but also to socialise families into a more specifically middle class set of values. The maximum density of 12 plots to the acre came close to, but did not necessarily add up to, a street of terrace houses and was generally the maximum density expounded by Garden City promoters such as Raymond Unwin (Figure 7.1). Furthermore, ample space was allowed for front and rear gardens. This principle was understood by the Surveyor-General and Chairman of the Townships Board which came into being following the Township Ordinance of the Cape Province in 1927.[47] In an article in the *AB&E*, he warned that developers were motivating for the building regulations to allow 17 to

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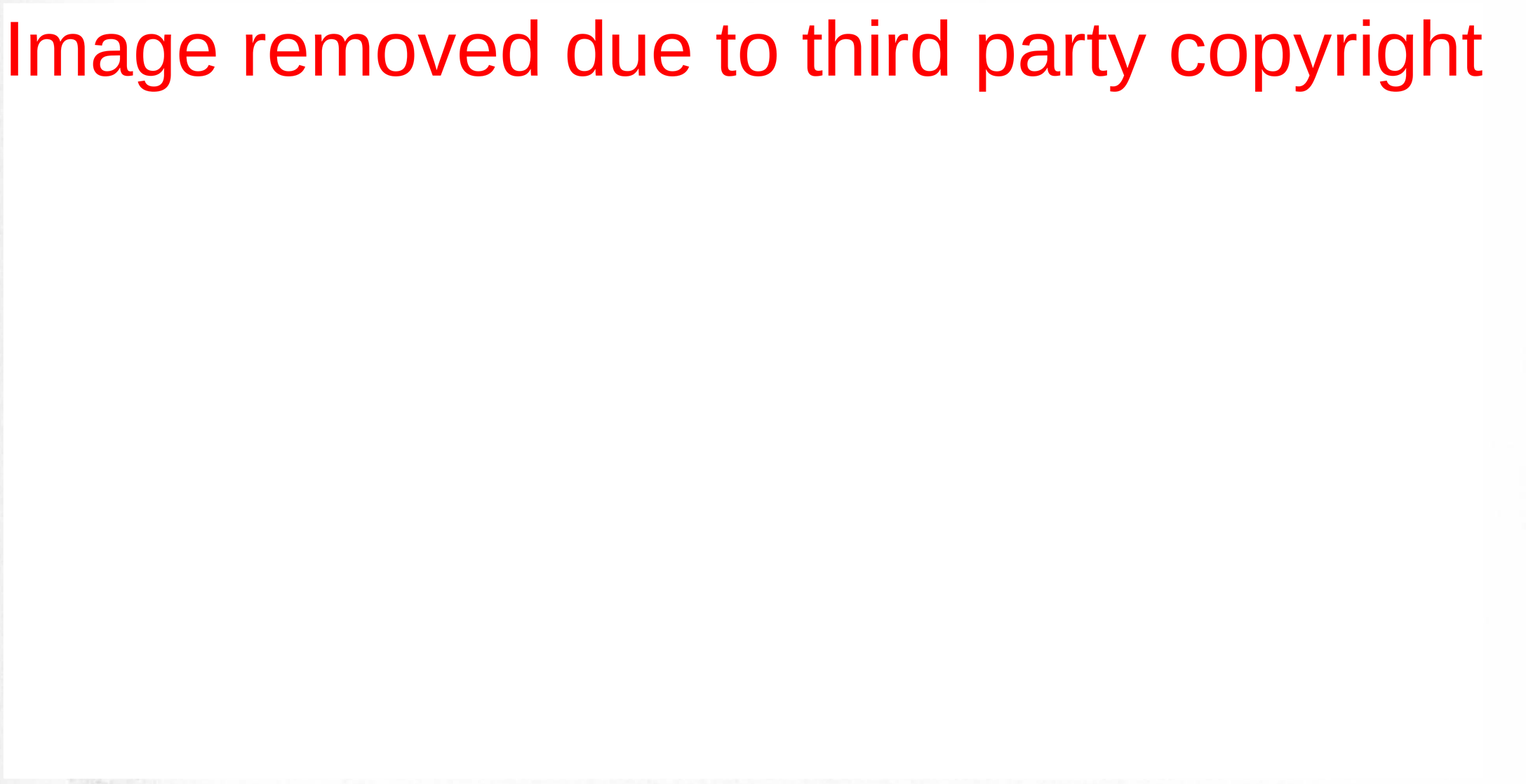
[40] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/17: PH&BRC, 1923.02.13.
[41] *Ibid.*, 1923.02.19.
[42] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/22: PH&BRC, 1924.11.19.
[43] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/29: PH&BRC, 1928.04.02.
[44] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/30: PH&BRC, 1929.06.21.
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] *Ibid.*, 1929.08.02.
[47] Ordinance No.13 of 1927 (Townships Ordinance 1927)



7.1 Raymond Unwin, 'Nothing gained from overcrowding.' The layout on the left represents the "bye-law" street, and on the right, a Garden City layout. Source: Miller, *Raymond Unwin*.

the acre and thereby disallowing the 'humanising influence which a small garden provides' and forcing children to 'adopt the streets as their playground'.[48]

In fact, the building regulations of 1920 seem quite explicitly aimed at preventing the kind of denser environment – that characterised neighbourhoods such as District Six – from developing. This was particularly marked with regards to the restrictions placed on street widths and the location of building lines, which were largely driven by concerns for maximising light and air for dwelling spaces. As early as 1915, the I&PC had resolved to have the Council issue a Standing Order in 1915 requiring set-backs of fifteen feet.[49] That set-back regulations were first instituted through the I&PC so soon after they had voiced concern over the proposed subdivision of the Oranjezicht estate as discussed above, suggests that setback regulations may have also had some basis in aesthetic concerns regarding the possibility of "viewing" a streetscape as discussed in Chapter Four. Certainly they were on record for urging the PH&BRC to approve regulations 'prohibiting the erection of buildings deemed by the Council to be undesirable by reason of either the nature of the building itself or the use to which it is to be put, or its environment,'[50] as was allowed in the Municipal Ordinance of 1912 which can be understood as part of a general concern for the appearance of the city.

The possibility of setbacks being motivated by aesthetic considerations is confirmed in an incident which took place a few years later. This involved a proposed increase in the maximum permissible height for buildings in central Cape Town brought about by the proposed plans for the National Bank. The MOH at the time, Jasper Anderson, in listing three objections to the proposed amendment, was concerned not only that it would deprive the surrounding buildings of sunlight and ventilation but also '(b) From an aesthetic point of

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[48] [Mag]*AB&E*, v.13, n.5, (December, 1929), p.20.
[49] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/5/4/1/4: I&PC, 1915.11.15.

view, and (c) that the higher the buildings the narrower the streets will appear'.[51] Objection (c) was perhaps a repeat of objection (b).

The building regulations of 1920 seem to reflect this aesthetic concern. In contrast to parts of District Six where buildings were often built at the property line, regulation 811 required a set-back of 'not less than fifteen feet or not more than twenty-five feet in the case of main streets; and not less than ten feet or not more than twenty feet in the case of secondary streets,' effectively instituting a front garden space. Regulation 814 defined a minimum street width by requiring the distance between opposite property lines to be greater than 24 feet. Perhaps as an acknowledgement of the slum clearances that were to follow, regulation 816 even went so far as to require new buildings in an existing street to ignore existing building lines set down in the physical form of the street and set buildings back a minimum of 12 feet from the centre of the street for streets less than 24 feet in width. Any existing alley was thus potentially to be restructured into the width of a minimum street as each new building project was developed and with an eye to possible future slum clearances. In acknowledgement of the work being undertaken to restructure Old Cape Town, regulation 818 explicitly allowed the Council to instruct owners to remove existing *stoeps* or other projections beyond the property line.

State Structuring: The Public Health Act and the Slums Act

Most of the early legislation at the macro-level considering houses and housing was primarily concerned with the safety and physical health of its inhabitants. It was only with the Public Health Act of 1919, and its chapter on sanitation and housing, that the central state began to structure the spatial possibilities and control the appearance of neighbourhoods and buildings.[52] This operated at two levels: the one dealing with future developments and the other dealing with existing buildings or neighbourhoods. With the first it became unlawful to erect in urban areas any dwelling constructed on the back-to-back system or 'to erect any room intended to be used as a sleeping or living or work room which is not sufficiently lighted by a window or windows of a total area of not less than one-twelfth of the floor area and sufficiently ventilated by two or more ventilation opening or by windows capable of being wholly or partly opened, such windows or openings being so placed as to secure through or cross ventilation.' How this understanding of "window" was to be translated into the traditional dwellings of Natives was not stated. Presumably, this method of construction remained possible within the rural reserves, but in "White" South Africa the unquantifiable effects of ventilation through thatched dwellings rendered them illegal and hence open to illegitimacy, removal and eradication. Aside from the two specific restrictions mentioned above, the Minister of Health was allowed to provide regulations regarding the construction of dwellings, the provision of "proper" lighting and ventilation, and the prevention of overcrowding. Most significantly though, these regulations could determine the overall

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[50] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/17: PH&BRC, 1915.11.04.
[51] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/11: PH&BRC, 1920.04.30.
[52] [UGov]Act 36, 1919 (Public Health Act).

planning and subdivision of land intended to be used as buildings sites, from the width and number of streets right down to the limit of the number, use and extent of buildings permitted on the site. The potential for the state to structure the built environment was thus firmly entrenched in the Act, although this was really a countrywide version of the Cape Municipal Ordinance of 1912.

The Act also dealt with existing buildings, giving powers to municipalities to target specific buildings for renovation or demolition as determined by magistrates, and yet based on the MOH assigned to each municipality or areas within the municipality proposing it to be a 'nuisance.' A building was to be considered a nuisance if it was 'injurious or dangerous to health,' which was related to floor space and overcrowding, ventilation and the potential spread of infectious disease. Whilst it was mainly the spread of infectious disease through vermin and dirt that was the main consideration of the MOH, vague wording in the Act certainly made it easy to consider a building with a general run-down appearance and a high density of urban fabric as contributing to the declaration of a 'nuisance.' Any building which could be considered 'offensive' or 'so situated' as to spread disease, in other words, through its proximity to other dwellings, was open to such a declaration. In a context where the Arts & Crafts picturesque cottage was an ideal, buildings constructed of corrugated iron and with peeling paint in neighbourhoods of a dense spatial structure were more liable to be declared a nuisance than free-standing villas made of brick. In fact, one of the aspects the Minister could also make regulations on was that dwellings be periodically cleansed and whitewashed – arguably less a concern for sanitation than the product of an aesthetic sensibility that either sought to homogenize the visual environment or to cover over the visual manifestations of poverty.

In terms of the Act, any building not able to be made 'fit for human habitation' through renovation was to be considered for demolition. It was for the MOH to determine which dwellings were to be brought before the magistrate in this regard after having considered the level of dilapidation, structural defectiveness or its spatial situation. In other words, the Act allowed individual officials to make judgements as to the appropriate appearance of buildings and the level of density of an area, and thereby have a direct impact on the inhabitants of specific buildings and the very existence of the building itself (as we have seen in Chapter Four). Couched within the Act is the possibility that the space and image of dwellings and neighbourhoods could determine, permit and invite remedial or draconian interventions in the urban landscape by the state. In other words, any building considered illegitimate by the MOH had to be restructured and represented in a suitable manner if it was to avoid being demolished. As part of the further management of the city, the MOH of each district was required to submit a report each year considering the condition of housing in the area, a requirement which indicates the rigorous extent to which this "problematic" aspect of the city could be mapped out.

The Slums Act of 1934 followed most of the strictures laid down by the Public Health Act and its chapter on sanitation and housing, allowing the MOH, rather than a magistrate, to

declare a building or an area a slum.[53] Although the main concerns of the act were arguably for the health of the city and its inhabitants,[54] the Act did allow for the restructuring and presentation of the domestic space of the city that was more in keeping with a low density ideals of the picturesque villa. The vague concerns for density in the Public Health Act of 1919 were made more explicit, giving the MOH the power to act on areas 'so congested with buildings as to be injurious or dangerous to health' although the technical definition of 'congestion' was not offered. Apart from laying down restrictions as to the minimum volume of air, floor space and latrines per person per room, as well as requiring the separation of the kitchen or food preparation area, the Act also shows the desire to allocate specific functions to specific rooms – a manner of thinking germane to modernism.

In regard to this, the Act required the separation of sexes above the age of 12 years old into 'separate *rooms*,' (my emphasis) except of course, those 'persons living together as husband and wife.' This was to be achieved by means of a brick wall or any other partition extending from the floor to the ceiling deemed by the MOH as making 'segregation effective.' It is important to recognise that this part of the Act was based on the concept that sleeping could only legitimately occur within a 'room' and that the cohabitation of two people of opposite sex in that room was made illegal unless they were married. Once again the ideal of the "home" is represented, this time in the Act, which in turn structures the social space of the South African city. The simple one-roomed house of Alexander Johnson in Kensington Estate, Maitland, and his seven children was effectively rendered illegitimate.[55] Thus it was not only the idea of "home," but the limited correlation of activity or function to 'room' as distinct to space or area that had a potential effect on the social space of cities in South Africa at the time. No 'latrine or any passage, staircase, landing or cupboard or any outbuilding, garage, stable, tent, storeroom, lean-to, shed, cellar or loft [can] be used for sleeping in by any human being, unless its use for that purpose has been approved by the local authority.' In essence this meant that the practice of ascribing a function to a room through the representation of a plan as submitted to the local authority became a countrywide legal requirement.

Housing legislation and the Assisted Housing Schemes

After WWI, the Cape Town municipality was involved in the administration and provision of individual houses through state- and provincial-funded schemes. These are the focus of this section. Thus two legislative events helped structure the domestic space and thence the identity of the Cape Peninsula, both of which were ostensibly crystallised as a result of the Influenza Epidemic of 1918.

The Municipal Provision of Homes Ordinance of 1919[56] was a provision made by the Cape Provincial Government to allow municipalities to forward money to the working poor to

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[53] [UGov]Act 53, 1934 (Slums Act).
[54] Naomi Barnett suggests that town planning was its real emphasis, see Barnett, N., 'Race, Housing and Town Planning in Cape Town, c1920-1940'
[55] [Cabox]3/CT-4/1/4/240(E180/4): Unauthorised Structure Lot 347/C4, Kensington Estate, Maitland.
[56] [PGov]Ordinance No.23 of 1919: Municipal (Provision of Homes) Ordinance.

allow them to purchase and build approved dwellings within the municipality. Restricted to families represented by "deserving" male applicants who earned less than £360 per annum and who gained no less than 4/5ths of their income through 'actual personal exertion,' the loans were payable at 5% interest per month provided the applicant could make an initial cash payment of 20% of the projected land and building costs. That the single-family detached unit was the imagined and only legitimate form of dwelling eligible for funding of this type is suggested in the definition given to 'dwelling house:'

> 'Dwelling House' includes the house and its appurtenances, necessary out-buildings, fences, and permanent provision for lighting, water-supply, drainage and sewerage, but does not include the land. 'Family' includes the parents or other relatives dependent on the applicant or borrower.

The Ordinance goes on to describe its purpose as 'enabling him to erect a dwelling-house as a *home* for himself and his family, or, after erection or partial erection of a dwelling-house, to enlarge or complete the same' [emphasis added]. Although the possibility existed for non-nuclear or extended-families to be included in the scheme, it should be noted that these had to be headed by a gainfully employed male. Inherent in the structure of the scheme – it being practically impossible to join-up with a neighbour and build a semi-detached dwelling – was the detached dwelling on its own separate plot.

Although the Housing Act of 1920[57] specifically allowed funding for 'a block of buildings' and was more open to implementation of housing developments by local authorities, it was very similar to the Ordinance, but with countrywide reach. In this case the State would provide funds to local authorities for housing schemes that had been approved by the provincial administrator at the recommendation of the Central Housing Board (hereafter CHB). Although the CHB was not the originator of the schemes, it was specifically established by the Act to provide assistance and guidance to local authorities on the appropriateness of the schemes, even providing model plan types as we have seen in the previous chapter. It was only in 1933 that the interest rate on the CHB recommended loans was dropped to below prime effectively allowing subsidised housing for the poorer classes, especially for Natives. Until that point, the Provision of Homes Ordinance and the Housing Act were essentially only effective in providing houses – at the poorest end of the scale – for artisans. Indeed, a certain amount of screening was implemented so as to prevent the municipality from losing money on the loans it made to those applying for assistance under the Act and Ordinance. Others have noted that these two policies were effective in, and possibly intended to, secure the position of the poor urban White population and achieve racial residential segregation.[58] It is worth taking a closer look to see how the implementation of these individual house schemes (as opposed to housing developments) may have had a basis in the desire to structure the domestic space and identity of different class and racial groups in Cape Town.

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[57] [UGov]Act 35, 1920 (Housing Act).
[58] Elias, C., 'A Comparative Analysis of Government Housing Policy and Cape Town City Council Housing Policy, 1890-1935', p.222; Barnett, N., 'Race, Housing and Town Planning in Cape Town, c1920-1940', p.174.

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7.2 Municipal Provision of Homes Ordinance, Home for R. Delvin, Belvedere Road, 1922. Source: [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/4/425.

It is important to clarify the various mechanisms through which the City Council, through the H&EC, implemented these individual houses. Both the Ordinance and the Act allowed individuals to apply for loans made available through the Council, although the Act required funds to be provided through central government. In both cases the H&EC was burdened with the task of approving each individual design as it was submitted to them. The schemes were marked in their initial stages by a general lack of implementation, only two applications totalling £1,800 were submitted and approved by the CHB in 1923 out of an available amount for that year of £18,500.[59] By May 1927 the two schemes were fairly effective in helping increase the "normal" or lower middle-class housing stock: 321 homes were built through the Ordinance system and 163 through the Housing Act, dotted around the suburbs of Cape Town.[60] The three-bedroom dwelling with its wooden floors and tiled roof at Belvedere Road in Claremont is a typical "cottage" funded under the Provision of Homes Ordinance (Figure 7.2).

Certainly there is no reason to believe that funds were denied on account of the race of the applicant and the intended neighbourhood for the development of the dwelling. As we have seen this was a class issue and would have been structured by building regulations related to density and "class" of dwelling and the appropriateness of the cottage to the existing neighbourhood. The schemes were clearly efforts aimed at "saving" worthy families from degeneration, the latter happening due to their "forced" association with degenerate types in the denser parts of Old Cape Town. The same conclusions cannot be made of the Municipality's Assisted Housing Scheme in wood-and-iron that developed a few years after the Ordinance and the Act but which then ran concurrently with them. This scheme was essentially motivated out of a concern to house those in the suburbs who were living in self-built and unlicensed dwellings. As we will see, the Assisted Housing Scheme was race and area specific in its allocation of funds.

Indeed, the scheme was first mooted in 1922 when two members of the PH&BRC reported on the increase in informal settlements in the Cape Flats areas and in particular Meadows Estate in Claremont. The report suggested that the mostly Coloured occupants had been turned out of the more populous areas of the city and had bought plots on the Estate in the belief that they could erect whatever dwelling they saw fit on the land. The following is an extract from Henshilwood and Somerville's report:

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[59] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/6: H&EC, 1923.11.15.
[60] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/15: PH&BRC, 1927.09.15.

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C. is a Municipal employee – Sanitary Cart. Has three plots purchased at same rates. Has a small hut of tin and wattle on each plot. Himself and two brothers and their families live in these huts. The huts are tumble down, dirty, and quite unfit for decent dwelling [...] It is easy to serve notices upon these people and to tell them they must either build proper houses – as approved by the Council or clear out. It is by no means certain that they can, or will, do either. They are their own architects and their own builders, and their ideas of house planning and house construction are not such as are likely to receive approval of our officials.[61]

7.3 Municipal Provision of Homes Ordinance, Standard Wood-&-Iron dwelling, with additional room, 1930. Source: [CAbox]

They went on to suggest that turning these occupants out of their dwellings 'would be the essence of Municipal inhumanity,' and suggested a scheme that eventually solidified as the Assisted Housing Scheme. Although they initially considering the use of pise-de-terre, the scheme was limited to wood-and-iron, and then later, brick. Applicants could choose from three standard designs ranging from one living and one bedroom to one living and three bedrooms depending on their incomes (Figure 7.3). The Council would erect the 'cottages,' as they were called, on land owned by the applicant or selected by the Council so as to replace the 'hovels' that were being lived in. Indeed, £10,000 was voted for in order to clear the Meadows Estate of the unauthorised dwellings.[62] The applicant had to pay an initial £10 down-payment and then pay the Council a monthly rent on a hire purchase scheme. This gave the Council the opportunity to police and control the social space of those who lived, literally, at the margins of the city. In fact, this was included in the agreement which would require (as a notice advertising the scheme suggested) 'keeping the place clean and tidy, and keeping the house in repair at the expense of the applicant, and about good behaviour,' on pain of eviction and expulsion.[63] The notice also made it clear that '[t]he man the Council wishes to help is the decent man in regular work, and only such men will be accepted.' Three testimonials were required as part of the application.

A few examples of the applications show the inadequacy of the scheme in dealing with the reality of extended families and their mismatch to the rationalities of the model plans being developed. Another sticking point was the fact that women were possibly driving the applications through their status as the breadwinner. M.J. Arendse came before the H&EC on behalf of his wife for assistance to enlarge and complete her house in Rylands Estate on

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[61] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/15: PH&BRC, 1922.05.10.
[62] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/4: H&EC, 1922.11.13.

the Cape Flats. This was ostensibly to allow her mother to live with them, and that the extra two rooms and the kitchen were for her use. The Chairman, W.C. Gardener, 'felt sure the Council would not advance money for the building of two houses,'[64] presumably to ensure that no sub-letting would take place leading to "overcrowding" and social degeneration. In another recorded case, Mr. F.G. Van Tura required a house with three rooms and a kitchen due to the fact that his sister, her husband and their three children were living with him.[65] The Assisted Housing models with their restrictions to one dwelling per plot and the "moral" strictures of sex separation in the building regulations, would have quite likely rendered extended families such as these as abnormal and improper – although the simplest cottage effectively consisted of only two rooms, which suggests that this was intended as a "starter" home during which girls and boys could share a room until they were 12 years old.

In fact there is reason to believe that even the Assisted Housing Scheme was implemented to achieve some kind of simulated 'normality' in the marginal spaces of the city. That the H&EC were keen on implementing "proper" houses and not simply warding off potential disease through unsanitary conditions is borne out by two examples. Firstly, in February 1924, the Sub-Committee of the H&EC dealing with the Assisted Housing Scheme considered it only important to give assistance to people who were living in unsanitary conditions, but also if they had met more than 75% of the payment for the land on which they lived. Until that time, the H&EC had been funding schemes for occupants of dwellings that were not particularly unsanitary and were funded either on the basis of their 'unsightliness' or not being 'proper' dwellings. These points suggest – up until 1924 at any rate – that it was individuals and their families who were thought to be almost "the same" as the stewards of the city were the main focus of this scheme. Secondly, the whole of the Athlone area in which wood-and-iron dwellings were largely permitted and in which houses had been developed on an ad hoc basis through various housing schemes, was never laid with any sewerage or other services. Yet in 1927 Councillor James in an interview with D.F. Malan, the Minister of the Interior and Public Health, called Athlone a 'model village'.[66] It was on the whole touted as a major success – until the area flooded in heavy rains in 1929. The point is that slop collections and septic tanks were *de rigueur* at Athlone much as they were in many of the informal settlement areas; its success lay in its provision of 'proper' houses as manifested through single-family detached units and not necessarily on the provision of sanitary infrastructure.

Nearly two years after the idea of the Assisted Housing Scheme had been mooted, the CE and Councillor W. James who was himself a builder, drew up plans for model brick houses to be delivered on the same lines as the wood-and-iron dwellings.[67] Eventually a wide range of model plans were developed (see, as an example, Figure 7.4). Councillor James also promoted the development of an area of Athlone called Milner with many wood-

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[63] [CAbox]3/CT 4/1/4/504: Assisted Housing Cape Flats, Conditions regarding Applications for Assisting Housing in the Cape Flats Area.
[64] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/6: H&EC, 1924.02.15.
[65] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/5: H&EC, 1923.07.12.
[66] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/12: H&EC, 1927.03.23.

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7.4 Municipal Provision of Homes Ordinance, Type G, 1924. Source: [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/5/984.

and-iron dwellings being built,[68] with a rider added within the very details of the dwellings themselves. They had been designed in such a way such that the roof eaves over-sailed the walls thereby allowing the corrugated iron to eventually be taken off and replaced by a brick layer.[69] Although the wood-and-iron dwellings were restricted to areas set aside for their development, the brick houses were also permitted within these areas. Eventually, however the Milner scheme restricted the development of brick dwellings to plots 191-196 and the wood-and-iron to plots 5-10.[70]

The structuring of class through space was further implemented when the Claremont Ratepayers Association complained that the Assisted Housing Scheme's proposed brick houses for Livingstone Road in Claremont were on plots 'too small and not suitable for a suburban district, and [asked] that a more suitable plan be devised'.[71] The Assisted Housing Schemes, contrary to their general ad hoc nature of implementation, veered close to explicit racial segregation when, along with the Milner scheme, a major development planned for the area on the 'opposite side of Klipfontein Road at Athlone' was intended for 'Europeans'.[72] This scheme was not developed. By May 1927, 87 wood-and-iron dwellings and 201 brick dwellings had been built under the Assisted Housing Schemes.[73] Separate figures were given for Athlone as 146 wood-and-iron dwellings and 115 concrete dwellings, presumably under the same scheme.[74] In a final effort to deal with property owners to the east of the Cape Flats rail line, the PH&BRC eventually decided to restrict, in general, the building of wood-and-iron houses to the west of the Cape Flats line and bounded by Klipfontein Road in the north and Wetton Road in the South[75] (Figure 0.1). There was, however, no boundary to the east; the space of the Other could extend into the wilderness.

Conclusion

True to *laissez-faire* development, the Cape Town City Council and its agents had undertaken minimal intervention into the structuring of the city up until after the unification of the various municipalities in 1913. Even then, their main concern was for areas in which they

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[67] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/7: H&EC, 1924.02.21.
[68] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/9: H&EC, 1925.05.18.
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/10: H&EC, 1925.07.16.
[71] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/10: H&EC, 1925.11.19.
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/12: H&EC, 1927.09.15.
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/22: PH&BRC, 1925.04.03.

had a vested interest, namely, the marine and southern suburbs. After WWI, the housing shortage caused the municipality to consider allowing building types and materials generally considered undesirable to be used in carefully designated areas and with time limits attached to their licensing. The selective implementation of aspects of the building regulations by the stewards of the city allowed White middle-class residents to live out Romantic fantasies using materials and structures whose use by social and racial Others was generally considered to be threatening. The city's building regulations also allowed it to be structured into designated areas of "class" based primarily on the density of dwellings to the acre, which allowed the exclusion of Others from certain areas of the city, and their specific allocation to others. The Public Health Act of 1919 and the Slums Act of 1934 were two Acts that helped determine what and who could be excluded from the space of the city by giving individuals, such as the MOH, the power to identify what was an illegitimate building or space, based on what it looked like or its density, as well as deferring to English ideas of the villa and its characteristics such as its spatial variegation, as being a necessary determinant of any human dwelling. For their part, the provincial and central governments' fledgling housing schemes followed a similar pattern by only subsidising proscribed or approved single-family detached dwellings, and by screening the applicants to avoid providing housing for those at the margins of society. As such, the stewards of the city were able to carefully structure where and how individuals and families, who were not quite middle class, could live in the city whilst helping to ensure against their "degeneration" in dwellings considered to be illegitimate and by removing them from the spaces of Old Cape Town. Yet these legislative interventions were largely very generalised in their restructuring attempts. It is to more project-specific restructurings that I now turn.

8. The Specific Restructuring of Other as Same:
Inner-City & Suburban Projects, The Location as a White Space

Introduction

As was shown in the previous chapter, the stewards of the city, at the end of WWI, began to structure the entire domestic space of Cape Town through a variety of general legal restrictions in an attempt to maintain and enforce class-identities. They also began subsidising isolated and individual houses through which the structuring of class-identities was maintained and through which English values could be structured in the city. This final chapter continues these considerations, but looks instead at major site-specific projects undertaken in the city. The first section examines the anti-urban sentiments that led to the implementation of the Maitland Garden Village (hereafter MGV) and the Roeland Street scheme, and caused Wells Square to be targeted for removal and clearance. The second section looks at the development of Cape Town's location of Ndabeni and the legal restrictions that structured it as a "White," as opposed to a Native, space (I have chosen to explore the legal restrictions structuring Ndabeni here rather than in the previous chapter, because it was *not* part of the municipality of Cape Town, but rather legally defined as a Native-space, and hence most of the regulations of Cape Town did not apply there). The final section looks at the Native location of Langa and Pinelands Garden City, not only because the English architect A.J. Thompson can be considered the designer of both, but because a comparison of the two illustrates the extent to which the ideal of restructuring the Other as Same was taken.

The Anti-urban projects: Wells Square Clearance, MGV, Roeland Street Scheme

As mentioned in Chapter Four, one of the conditions that the stewards of the city found problematic was the "disorder" of parts of Old Cape Town, especially as found in its *stoeps*. The Public Health and Building Regulations Committee (hereafter PH&BRC) had instructed the City Engineer (hereafter CE) to undertake a survey of all the balconies, verandas and *stoeps* in the city. By July 1920 some 2,200 of these elements had been surveyed, and it was reported that approximately 800 remained unsurveyed.[1] The extent of this survey and mapping is illustrated

[1] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/12: PH&BRC, 1920.07.15.

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in the CE's drawing of the *stoeps* of Constitution and Mckenzie Streets (Figure 8.1). *Stoep* clearance formed the general 'improvements' made to Old Cape. The ambition of the stewards of the city to re-order Old Cape Town can be illustrated in the proposed demolition of 181 Hanover Street and 38 Aspeling Street in 1917.[2] The Medical Officer of Health (hereafter MOH), Jasper Anderson, suggested that 'they had been an eyesore for years'.[3] In fact, in 1905, the Council had approved the ruling to set the building back to an 'improvement line' as indicated on their drawing[4] (Figure 8.2). These are minor examples of how the stewards of the city set about restructuring Old Cape Town into a more consistently ordered space.

8.2 'Street Improvements' 1917. Proposed Demolition corner of Hanover and Clifton. Areas extending beyond the 1905 improvement line are indicated in black. Source: [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/4/80(C37/4).

The major restructuring, however, was to come in the guise of slum clearance and re-housing programmes, and it is to this issue that I now turn.

The first housing development instituted by the Council post municipal unification in 1913 was essentially a response to the racial and class heterogeneity and dense urbanity of areas of Old Cape Town rather than an effect of the 'Sanitation Syndrome' brought on by the Influenza epidemic of 1918. Undoubtedly this event did give much motivation to the funding requests of the Council from its citizens, but the motives for the first housing schemes at MGV and Roeland Street existed before the arrival of the 'flu in 1918. Before Richard Stuttaford mooted the concept for Pinelands and long before ground was struck there, the MGV was the first evidence in Cape Town where discourse on the Garden City was the impetus for housing development.

As early as 1914 the Acting City Engineer had called for a housing survey and the needs to house 'indigent whites,'[5] whilst the Railways Department was called upon to provide suitable housing for their low-paid White workers 'and thereby reduce the number of white persons living in the City'.[6] In a move reflecting the dominant sentiments of the Garden City Movement, the Mayor of Cape Town, J. Parker, who was himself an architect, suggested that the Council be involved in erecting 'model dwellings' to replace the wood-and-iron cottages at Sandblocks in Kalk Bay.[7] A month earlier Parker had admonished the PH&BRC to consider in earnest over the coming year the 'question of housing the poor of the City

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[2] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/9: PH&BRC, 1917.11.08
[3] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/4/80 (C37/4): Letter from Anderson to PH&BRC.
[4] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/4/80 (C37/4): 1917.12.11, Letter from CE to Streets and Drainage Committee.
[5] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/6: PH&BRC, 1914.04.02.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1914.04.16.
[7] *Ibid.*, 1914.10.01.

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8.3 Wells Sq., figure/ground, Thom's Survey c.1890. Source: [CAbox]3/CT-4/2/1/1/1333.

generally and Council's own employees'.[8] It was at the beginning of 1915 that the Council received a petition from 87 signatories regarding the conditions at Wells Square and Bloemhof (Figure 8.3), nominally in the District Six area,[9] that a series of events were put in motion, leading eventually to the clearance of Wells Square and the development of MGV and the Roeland Street Scheme. The petitioners were mostly from the surrounding streets of Harrington, Canterbury, Kent, Primrose, Roeland, Caledon, and even as far away as Buitenkant Street, and their description of Wells Square was as follows:

> Wells Square is the home of a number of prostitutes and criminals, many of the houses are brothels and shebeens and are kept solely for these purposes. The amount of liquor sold, mostly on Sundays, is amazing, last Sunday smuggling took place all day at one time during the day thirty drunken men were counted about. The respectable neighbourhood is awakened all hours of the early morning by the yelling emanating from Wells Square and neighbourhood. Many of the houses are overcrowded and in our opinion are unfit for human habitation and ought to be condemned. Numerous complaints have been made to the Police who maintain that the only remedy is to condemn these dens.[10]

A surprise evening inspection by the Acting MOH and seven inspectors on the 13th January revealed a few instances of "overcrowding." For example, 'No. 47. Room III, with a capacity of 972 cubic feet was occupied by two adults and three children, this room having two children in excess',[11] as well as a few minor defects in paving of the yards, broken windows and doors frames and dirty walls. The Acting MOH, was not convinced that the residences of Wells Square were 'unfit for human habitation.' In fact, he was quite sure that all they required was some remedial work.[12] The Deputy Commissioner of the South African Police, G.D. Gray, gave his reaction to the petition:

> Undoubtedly the majority of the inhabitants of Wells Square are of a low social type, and it may fairly be described as one of the slums of the City [...]. I quite agree that many of the houses are overcrowded and unfit for human habitation, and undoubtedly the insanitary dwellings, bad surroundings, and the one-and two-roomed houses of Wells Square, in which the decencies of life are not possible, have a great deal to do with the criminal behaviour of its population, and very sensibly effect their present social condition. [...] The remedy lies in sweeping away these slums and substituting for them healthy and cheap dwellings.[13]

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[8] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/6: PH&BRC, 1914.09.17.
[9] Bloemhof and Wells Square were technically in District One, but were popularly considered to be part of the "problem" area of District Six. Wells Square was bounded by Constitution Street to the north, Canterbury Street to the West, Bloemhof St to the South and Drury Lane to the East. Bloemhof was to the east of Wells Square.
[10] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/3/97 (31/3): Improvements to Wells Square 1915 – 1918, 1915.01.09.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/6: PH&BRC, 1915.01.21.

As we have seen in Chapters Four, Five and Six, the dense, internalised and fractured urban fabric and space that the stewards of the city found so problematic from an aesthetic and social point of view, was embodied in Wells Square (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). It is not surprising then, that the MOH submitted a report titled 'Slum Property' to the PH&BRC a few months later in which he felt that it was necessary to deal with the 'the parts of the City in which the houses are so congested and so badly arranged that it would be far better to clear the area on which the houses stand, lay it out afresh, and erect thereon proper dwellings'.[14] Wells Square, and the manifestation of its antithesis, became the initial focus of this restructuring programme.

After considering many options including building new tenements, freeing Municipal land for private development, and setting aside areas in the City where cheap dwellings could be built, the PH&BRC decided to set up an Overcrowding Sub-Committee of six Councillors, the MOH and the City Engineer (hereafter CE) to consider 'the question of making a recommendation to the Council to build cottages for their own employees, and to afford better facilities in the direction of City land being acquired for building cottages for the labouring classes'.[15] The initial plan was to build 450 'cottages' for municipal employees on municipal land dotted around the city, whilst expecting the workers to rent the cottages at 6/- a week which would be deducted off their wages.[16] It was around this time that the PH&BRC, as moved by Dr Abdurahman who was now a member, began to consider allowing cheaper dwellings in specific areas of the City.[17] In fact it had been Dr Abdurahman who, at the meeting discussing the MOH's 'Slum Properties,' had suggested that the Railways Department be persuaded to provide cheaper transport to and from the suburbs so that the Council could induce 'the labouring classes to live outside of the city proper'.[18] These moves suggest that the PH&BRC thought it more desirable to allow wood-and-iron dwellings in the suburbs than to have overcrowding in the inner city.

In the interim the PH&BRC received another petition from residents in the vicinity of Wells Square. This time the signatures came from people resident as far away as Plein and Hope Streets, and Sir Lowry's Pass.[19] The MOH, Jasper Anderson, like the Acting MOH before him, considered that 'the buildings themselves were in a fair sanitary condition'.[20] Councillor I.J. Honikman suggested that 'if the area were opened out the evil would disappear'.[21] In a report dated 13th November 1916, the CE submitted Scheme A and Scheme B on the proposed remodelling of Wells Square.[22] Although Scheme A was adopted, both schemes were intended to expropriate and remove the buildings in the centre of the square and providing two electric lamps, with Scheme B intended to extend the existing road infrastructure through the site (Figure 8.4). No progress was made on the matter until

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[13] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/3/97 (31/3): Improvements to Wells Square 1915 – 1918, 1915.02.23.
[14] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/7: PH&BRC, 1915.11.04.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/8: PH&BRC, 1916.10.18.
[17] *Ibid.*, 1916.10.25.
[18] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/7: PH&BRC, 1915.11.04.
[19] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/3/97 (31/3): Improvements to Wells Square 1915 – 1918, 1916.09.22.
[20] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/8: PH&BRC, 1916.10.25.
[21] *Ibid.*

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December 1917,[23] when the enrolled voters met to vote on a £34,000 extensive proposal to eventually expropriate all the properties bounded by Canterbury, Constitution, Bloemhof and Drury Lane. Even though J.D. Cartwright proclaimed, to much cheering, that Wells Square was 'acknowledged to be a great evil in our midst, and in the name of our fair city, in the name of our civilisation, and in the name of our Christianity it was our duty as intelligent citizens to say that such a foul spot should exist no longer',[24] the proposal was narrowly rejected on the basis of 'Adequate Housing, then Demolition.'

8.4 Wells Square restructuring, 1916 Scheme 'B' proposal. Hatching indicates buildings to be removed. Note the two lights indicated by 'bulls-eyes.' Source: [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/5/1008.

At the same meeting at which the first Wells Square clearance schemes were presented, the CE introduced the conditions inviting contractors to submit designs and costs for cottages for Council employees. A few items are of interest.[25] Firstly, that only brick, and concrete in various forms, were permissible for the walls, whilst slate, tiles, iron, "Rubberoid" and concrete were allowed for the roof. Secondly, that only free-standing or semidetached dwellings with their 'own piece of ground,' were wanted. And thirdly, two bedrooms of 100 sq ft each and a combined kitchen/living room of 150 sq ft were required. The first sites considered by the CE were the 'Klipfontein Road area as a Garden Village on the radial design' (possibly the area that later became Bokmakirie) and a site off Koeberg Road (probably the future Good Hope Model Village site) whose 100 cottages were set at a density of 10 to the acre.[26] Two events may have caused the PH&BRC to conveniently disqualify the four tenderers and their designs, whilst allowing the CE to design the cottages and the layout.[27] Firstly, they had received a petition protesting against the proposed development of the Klipfontein Road Garden Village, and secondly, a deputation from the CIA in the form of Kendall and Delbridge suggested that the city would be better served by separating the design of the dwellings from the tenders for the cost.[28]

The CE's layout design was hardly the zenith of Garden Suburb designs (Figure 8.6). Apart from a central area for 'recreation' the project was simply a planning exercise in low-density semi-detached housing, although there was a deliberate attempt to alternate the house types the CE's department had developed 'and so break the monotony'.[29] The main interest that MGV holds is in the design and presentation of its 'cottages.' Significantly, Type B with its baroque gables (Figure 8.5) shows the influence of the Cape Dutch revival at the

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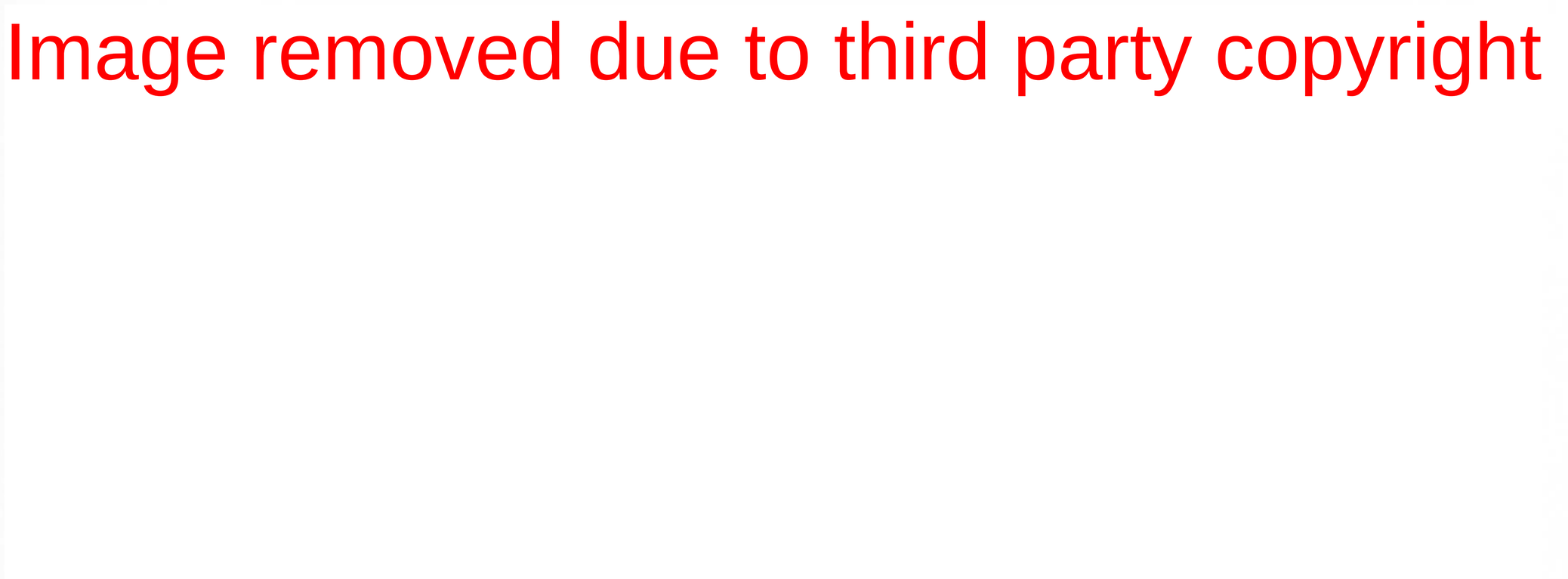
[22] *Ibid.*, 1916.11.13.
[23] Note the timing of the *AB&E*'s timing of their 'Hotbed of Horrors' article two months earlier.
[24] [News]CT 1917.12.08, 'Future of Wells Square.'
[25] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/8: PH&BRC, 1916.11.13.
[26] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/1/1/8: Special Committee, 1917.09.19.
[27] *Ibid.*, 1917.12.18.
[28] *Ibid.*, 1917.10.31.



8.5 Maitland Garden Village, type C1 and B cottages. Source: [Mag]*MJ*, January, 1901/

time. It also should be noted that this rather more extravagant cottage was intended for the caretakers of the village, their location at the main entrance next to the recreation ground representing and allowing their surveillance potential and hierarchical status. It is also fairly significant to acknowledge the Arts & Crafts sensibility of the Tudor-style of Type C1 of which 66 were to be built. Contrary to the recommendation of the Acting MOH for cottages of at least three rooms because 'relatives or friends, poor and unfortunate, will always be accommodated',[30] the remainder of the site was distributed with 52 Type C2 two-roomed dwellings. Designed by the CE's architectural assistant G. Angelini, who became a member of the CIA's committee in 1929,[31] these cottage types were represented in the *Municipal Journal* in 1919,[32] presumably to showcase the possibilities for municipal contribution to social housing. The illustrations seem to represent the dual desires of the age quite perfectly: the perspective view at the top with its wisps of smoke and well kept garden hints at an idyllic and Romantic rural past, whilst the plan below, with its labelled rooms and minimum dimensions, describes the scientific expectations for correct living in the modern world.

Whilst the cottages were being built, the H&EC and the Overcrowding Sub-Committee looked to new sites for further development with the assistance of Kendall and other members of the CIA,[33] although it seemed fairly certain that the Committee would favour extending MGV into a 'model Village'.[34] At a meeting of registered municipal voters, and in light of the recent and deadly Influenza Epidemic, the extension of MGV and a similar scheme at the top end of Roeland Street in the City Bowl were overwhelmingly approved

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[29] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/1/1/8: Special Committee, 1918.07.23.
[30] *Ibid.*, 1918.06.29.
[31] [CAmin]A1659 v.1/4: CIA, 1929.01.08.
[32] [Mag]*MJSA*, v.1, n.2, (January 1919).
[33] [CAmin]A1659 v.1/3: CIA, 1918.12.23.
[34] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/1/1/8: Special Committee, 1918.11.05.

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8.6 Maitland Garden Village, Original layout to the left and unbuilt extension to the right. Source: [CCC]Mayor's Minute, 1919.

with a loan of £250,000.[35] Delbridge and Hawke, as representatives of the CIA, framed the rules and requirements for these schemes and were the judges for it in an open competition.[36] The winners of the layout design were J. Lyon and W.A. Ritchie Fallon, whilst J. Perry and F.M. Glennie were winners of Type B, D and E, and Type A and C cottages respectively.[37] John Perry, who also went on to win the initial layout of the Pinelands Garden City, had visited Wells Square a few years before as a consultant to the Municipal Reform Association, advising them on the physical problems of the area.[38] Glennie, on the other hand, had been the CIA's first winner of measured drawings involving Cape Dutch homesteads and had been a life-long executive member of the SANS. Although these references to Kendall, Delbridge, Perry and Glennie may seem somewhat anecdotal, they suggest, and as one would expect, that members of the CIA were actively involved in the architectural issues of the day – the issues of the inner-city slum-clearance and re-housing being not that far removed from the preservation of rural homesteads. The city was, after all, part of the total environment entertaining their concern and consideration.

Although the MGV extension, in a later incarnation as the Oude Molen Scheme, was quashed through pressure by the representatives of the Pinelands Garden City and others,[39] it does show, with its curvilinear streets, low densities and central civic zone, the vision of social housing as being clearly Garden Suburb inspired (Figure 8.6). The design for the Roeland Street scheme showed many similar attributes, although due to the hilly nature of the site and its fairly close proximity to the City centre, it contained only a school as part of its civic infrastructure (Figure 8.7). The first phase of the development of the Roeland Street Scheme was not funded through the Housing Act, largely due to the fact that the CHB objected to the design of the cottages.[40] One of their objections was the inclusion of a *stoep* in the design which the H&EC defended on its appropriateness to the climate and the 'desirability of inducing some of the residents to sleep out on the *stoep* during the summer months'.[41] It is interesting to note that in the same riposte the H&EC refers to the Roeland Street scheme as a 'village,' underlining its anti-urban basis despite, or rather, because, of its proximity to the city centre. Although the H&EC had initially considered letting the cottages at MGV to 'European or Coloured employees of the Council who are in receipt of

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[35] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/1/1/9: Special Committee, 1919.08.12.
[36] *Ibid.*, 1919.05.14.
[37] [CAmin]A1659 v.1/3: CIA, 1920.05.28.
[38] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/3/97 (31/3): Improvements to Wells Square 1915 – 1918, 1917.05.18.
[39] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/13: H&EC, 1928.02.28.
[40] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/2: H&EC, 1920.12.18.
[41] *Ibid.*

8.7 Roeland Street Scheme layout. Source: [CCC]Mayor's Minute, 1919.

wages not exceeding 1/6d per hour',[42] it effectively became a Coloured neighbourhood, whilst the Roeland Street scheme was explicitly reserved for 'European Employees of the Council' half way through its construction.[43]

8.8 Roeland Street Scheme, Type A cottage. Source: [Mag]*MJSA* July, 1919.

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[42] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/1: H&EC, 1919.12.02.
[43] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/2: H&EC, 1921.08.02.

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8.9 Langschmidt, *In Old Cape Town*, c1855. Detail of flat-roof single-storey dwelling. Source: Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town*.

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8.10 Roeland Street Scheme. Source: [CCC]Aerial Photograph, 1926.

This specific racial designation of Roeland Street would not have been known to Glennie at the time of its design and it is interesting to note the type of cottage he designed (Figure 8.8). Although without gables, it seems to carry much of the design attributes of workers' housing on a Cape Dutch homestead or a dwelling from the Bo-Kaap, as if Glennie was making reference to the past "feudal" world. Although there is no evidence to confirm it, Glennie's design does seem to be a fairly close approximation of the building pictured on the right of Langschmidt's *In Old Cape Town*, c.1855 (Figure 8.9).

It is not implausible that Glennie, given his contact with such historians as Graham Botha and even through his own research, may have come across the painting or depictions in a similar vein. Certainly, it was a fairly wilful design – its monopitch corrugated iron roof not being in line with the double-pitch required by regulation 964 of the 1920 regulations. Yet, if one looks at the densities of the Roeland Street scheme c.1926 (Figure 8.10) compared on the one hand to the environment pictured by Langschmidt, and on the other to that of Wells Square (Figure 8.3), the contrast is abundantly clear: whatever Romantic vision may have driven Glennie in his design, it was to be set within the low-density, anti-urban ethos of the Garden City Movement. Consequently, the aerial photograph of 1926 depicts the Roeland Street buildings as positive objects set starkly against an almost bleached non-space, whilst Wells Square presents itself as an objectless, evolving, and internalised space more akin to the fabric of Old Cape Town at the start of the nineteenth century (Figure 8.12). Perhaps it goes too far to suggest that at the same time Kendall and Morris were using Cape Dutch elements divorced from the rest of the homestead (such as the central gable) to act as signifiers of status and possession, so Glennie was divorcing the workman's dwelling from its dense environment to signify the workmen's lower status and dispossession from the uncontrolled space of the city.

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8.12. 1926 Aerial Photo of Wells Square and Roeland Street. Source [CCC]

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8.11 Wells Square, Canterbury Flats, c.1935. Source: [CCC] Aerial Photo, 1935.

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8.13 Wells Square, Canterbury Flats, built c.1932. Source: Author.

Wells Square had in fact, by 1926, begun to undergo some restructuring. Even though the MOH had warned that if the dwellings in Wells Square were 'condemned as being unfit for human habitation it would mean that a very large percentage of properties in other parts of the City would have to be closed down for similar reasons',[44] the Council proceeded with its attrition slum-clearance scheme at Wells Square over the years by acquiring or expropriating targeted properties. Ironically, the MOH and the CE had to periodically serve notices on properties that were not earmarked by the PH&BRC for expropriation, whereupon the owner would comply with the instructions, thereby making the Council's eventual aim of complete expropriation that much more difficult.

By the beginning of 1926 the Council had only bought four houses and demolished two in the Square itself, whilst only three had been bought in Canterbury Street.[45] Enough expropriation and demolition had taken place by 1931 (Figure 8.11) for the Council to consider turning half the square into a playground and the other half into a parking lot so as to deal with the increased business in the area that was thought would follow the proposed foreshore development.[46] This proposal was rejected at the end of 1931 and the Council started to find favour in the idea mooted by the Citizen Housing League to use the space to provide flats for 'Non-Europeans'.[47] It would be wrong to consider this a massive turnaround in the Council's opinion against the desirability of single-family detached units – Canterbury Flats (the flats that were erected) were essentially groups of three cottages stacked vertically (Figure 8.13).

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[44] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/1/1/8: Special Committee, 1917.11.22.
[45] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/7/1/1/26: PH&BRC, 1926.02.11.
[46] [CAbox]3/CT-4/1/5/137(B718/5): Letter from Ben Fine to Councillor Bloomberg.

It was only in 1938 when the Council opened the Bloemhof Flats that the idea of the single-family detached dwelling perhaps had begun to loosen its stranglehold on the Council's housing policies.

Municipal Control and the Structuring of the Self

Applications from municipal employees to occupy MGV were very minimal: 26 were received for the 70 cottages available by the end of 1919.[48] In fact, occupancy was so slow that it was eventually proposed to compel Municipal employees living 'under insanitary conditions' to live in the village.[49] Later, some of the empty cottages were used as clearing houses when the PH&BRC started its slow process of slum clearances.[50] That the village was located a good few miles from the city centre played a part in this aversion as did the disallowing of sub-letting for fear of undermining one of the reasons for the establishment of the village, namely to prevent overcrowding.[51] Apart from a series of regulations governing the use of the houses, there was a set of restrictions and control of the environment that accompanied its development. For example, ovens and chicken huts that were erected by tenants in their back yards and were considered 'most unsightly'.[52] A decision was taken to have them erected in 'uniform line' and the CE to provide guidelines for the 'character and height of structures'.[53] In fact, one of the residents later applied for housing under the Assisted Housing Scheme for a wood-and-iron house directly as a result of these restrictions and the fact that he could not 'hang washing out in the back garden'.[54] The PH&BRC clearly felt it important to control the appearance of the village by maintaining visual order. In fact, when the Chairman objected to the fact that the proposed additional cottages were to be roofed with corrugated iron and thus 'not have a good effect from a spectacular point of view,' the CE reassured him that the roofs would be painted to match the existing roofs and 'the cottages would not appear odd'.[55]

This concern for the visual manifested itself in the regulations controlling the village which required that tenants were 'expected to work the garden ground in front of their houses and keep the same tidy'.[56] The Garden City notion of moral health through gardening was not lost on the Chairman of the H&EC, W.F. Fish, who instituted a series of prizes for the best kept trees and gardens in the village.[57] By 1925 an annual first prize of £4 and two runner-up prizes of £2 were being awarded to the 'best kept house and garden,' whilst a first prize of £2 and two runner-up prizes of £1 were awarded to the 'best kept house' and for the 'best kept garden' separately.[58] The interior of cottages was also brought under the "uplifting" gaze. The wealthy merchant, E.R. Syfret, introduced his own prize of £5 specifically for lot-

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[47] [CAmin]3/CT 4/2/1/1/371(31/31): 1931.11.21, Letter from Acting Town Clerk to City Engineer.
[48] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/1: H&EC, 1919.11.11.
[49] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/7: H&EC, 1924.06.19.
[50] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/8: H&EC, 1924.10.16.
[51] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/1: H&EC, 1919.10.28.
[52] *Ibid.*, 1920.03.23.
[53] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/2: H&EC, 1921.06.07.
[54] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/5: H&EC, 1923.08.16.
[55] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/3: H&EC, 1922.08.15.
[56] *Ibid.*, 1921.09.14.
[57] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/2: H&EC, 1921.05.23.

holders at Athlone in 1927,[59] which suggests the public support and interest the stewards of the city had in the "upliftment" of Others. Competitions were also instituted along the same lines regarding 36 cottages that had been erected in Second Avenue, Lancaster and Surrey Streets, Claremont through funding by the Housing Act.[60]

Whilst MGV and the Roeland Street scheme had emerged as racially segregated neighbourhoods, there was no explicit legislation that could have been employed to enforce the segregation. This was achieved through a screening process through which suitable employees of the Council would be selected and thereby safely "socialised" along the lines desired by the H&EC. As the administrator of other schemes funded through the Housing Act, the H&EC used the same procedure to achieve racial segregation, a policy desired by the CHB itself. For example, in 1928 applicants for housing in the Devil's Peak scheme were rejected as being noticeably 'slightly coloured'[61] or because 'she was not of European descent'.[62] At the same time, the extension of the MGV was being reconsidered, but now under the Oude Molen scheme. This had received much protest from the Pinelands residents and did not receive the recommendation of the Administrator of the Cape as was necessary for it to receive central government funding. In fact, in a meeting concerning the scheme, the Administrator suggested that 'the City should be completely zoned [...] so that certain sections would be set apart as European areas, others as non-European areas, industrial areas and areas where noxious trades might be established'.[63]

This was also the time in which the H&EC first began to entertain the possibility of developing flats in the Schotsche Koof area of District Two.[64] In the ten years or so since the City had first considered its role in the provision of houses for the poorer classes the debate had changed from a concern for class upliftment through Garden City ideals, to one that focused on racial segregation through slum clearance and re-housing along "scientific" lines as its dominant concern. This is not to say that single-family detached units were no longer the dominant model by which housing was approached. On the contrary, the first sub-economic housing scheme – at Bokmakirie (Figure 8.14) – indicates the extent of their use and hints at the future suburban Apartheid environments implemented through the 51/9 housing type. Though spawned out of English conceptions of the home and its social and aesthetic potential for "upliftment," the schemes that emerged in the 1930s and during the Apartheid years lack any pretence of Garden Suburb principles and were places of containment and disempowerment. Of course, these housing projects were minor in their controlling capacities compared to the Native locations that the pre-Apartheid government administered and created in South Africa. This next section examines the extensive controlling rules and regulations governing Native locations, and how the structuring of

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[58] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/9: H&EC, 1925.04.16.
[59] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/12: H&EC, 1927.07.21.
[60] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/6: H&EC, 1924.01.28.
[61] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/9/1/1/13: H&EC, 1928.06.04.
[62] *Ibid.*, 1928.06.18.
[63] *Ibid.*, 1928.06.21.
[64] *Ibid.*, 1928.09.20.

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space played a part in this. The central idea presented is that the location was essentially structured as a White space, leaving no room for Otherness or hybridity to emerge.

Early 'Native' Statutes and Legislation and the Design for Ndabeni

One of the first attempts to restrict the space of representation of the Other through the production of 'White space' in the Cape of Good Hope (as the colony was known before union in 1910), was through the Native Locations Act of 1884.[65] The aim of the Act was to rationalise the space of locations and their management, particularly those on private land, which had tended to emerge somewhat organically over time. Another aim of the Act was to facilitate the collection of a hut tax. It was precisely because black people were being housed in marginal zones surrounding urban areas, on private farms outside municipal control, that it was enacted.

8.14 Bokmakirie, c.1931. Source: [CCC]

In terms of the act, a location was any area containing dwellings of three or more Native men – 'Kafirs, Fingoes, Basutos, Hottentots, Bushmen and the like' – who were not in the employment of the farmer on whose land they were residing. Implicit in the Act is the understanding that single unemployed black men who had moved from tribal protectorates to urbanising areas, were a potential threat that needed to be managed and controlled. In fact, it went so far as to give the Governor or his agents the power not only to delimit the area to be used for the erection of dwellings on private and public land, but also to limit the number of dwellings allowed in the space, in other words, to plan the very space of the location. Once the licensed location had been established, an inspector would be appointed over the location whose duties included keeping a register of the number of dwellings as well as the names and occupations of each of the inhabitants. This inspector had to be given notice if an inhabitant of the location wanted to erect a new dwelling, presumably to maintain order within the space. The understanding of black urbanites as transient inhabitants of the White city was strong enough to allow a hut in a location that had not been occupied during that calendar year to be destroyed. Although the Act did not restrict the kind of dwellings that could be erected in the location, its concern for containment and the allowance for the planning of the space was one of the first uses of 'White space' in the control of Natives.

The Natives Location Amendment Act of 1899[66] did not change the main impetus of the earlier Act but did restrict the number of adult males authorised to occupy a private location to less than 40. The Act also gave a definition of the term 'Native' which in this case was listed as including 'any Kafir, Zulu, Fingo, Basuto, Damara, Hottentot, Bechuana, Bushman, Koranna or other native of South or Central Africa.' It is important to realise that the Natives Location Act and its amendment did not restrict Native access to accommodation within the municipal areas themselves, and indeed, District Six was an area in which many jobseekers were accommodated as rent-payers. It took the Native Reserve Location Act of 1902 to fundamentally change this.[67] This Act gave the Governor power to proclaim specific municipalities as exclusionary zones wherein Natives, with a few exceptions, could no longer reside. This was ostensibly to limit the spread of the plague in future outbreaks even though there had been no direct correlation between Natives and the incidence of the disease being higher than in Europeans. The corollary of this exclusion of Natives from the space of the city was the need to establish the Reserve Locations in which those employed in the municipal areas were required to live. In this sense, the Native Reserve Locations Act was the first instance of housing *per se* as a conceptual responsibility of the State, although this occurred largely through default of the State's attempts to sanitize the city as a White space. Not only was the Governor allowed to make rules on the provision of dwellings but also regulate 'the erection and use of private dwellings, buildings and other structures in the location, and the ventilation, lighting, materials, and manner of construction of all such dwellings, buildings, and other structures.' Whereas the Native Location Act had considered the containment of native space in the city through means of boundaries sufficient in the "sanitizing" of the city, the Native Reserve Locations Act went one step further by allowing for the potential eradication of native space in the city by means of government architects defining the built environment of the location in terms specific to their choosing. Although the Native Reserve Locations Amendment Act of 1905 allowed Natives to erect their own dwellings, this was only on terms and conditions agreed to by the Governor.[68] As will be shown in the following sections, this possibility of self-built housing was not enacted in any substantial way.

The Commission on a Native Location for Cape Town (hereafter CNL) reached a draft agreement on the 17th October 1900, which set out some basic principles for the new location that was being considered.[69] Three classes of Natives were defined, namely, 'the temporary or migratory, the permanent or settled and the educated or superior Natives,' but only two kinds of accommodation were suggested, namely, 'a few small cottages for some stable Natives especially those with families [and] a few larger rooms or barrack rooms for accommodation of migratory Natives'. This draft agreement suggests that had the plague not hit Cape Town in 1901, bringing about the rapid removal of Natives to the area that eventually became Ndabeni, then the accommodation of Cape Town's first location would

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[65] [CGov]Act 37, 1884, (Native Locations Act)
[66] [CGov]Act 30, 1899 (Native Locations Amendment Act).
[67] [CGov]Act 40, 1902 (Native Reserve Locations Act).
[68] [CGov]Act 8, 1905 (Native Reserve Locations Amendment Act).
[69] [CGov]NA 457: 1900.10.17.

have been more in keeping with European standards than the stripped-down dwellings that were hastily erected. The dwellings were to have been constructed of brick, with a minimum airspace of 400 cu ft per adult – the standard minimum in England. It was, however, not thought to be 'feasible' to provide gardens. The unbuilt accommodation that the City Engineer had designed for 480 men was suddenly increased to that for 4,000 men with the arrival of the plague.[70] Lewis Mansergh, as Secretary of the Public Works Department (and also a significant participant in the Cape Dutch preservation movement[71]), even went so far as to allow 12 families to erect wattle huts, in distinct opposition to the draft agreement of the CNL that had explicitly intended to exclude Natives from building their own homes.[72] Furthermore, the floors of some dwellings were constructed of mud.[73]

A few months after Ndabeni was hurriedly put together, efforts were made to make the environment more attractive and differentiated, with churches, a hospital, and a recreation hall planned. The ambivalence with which Ndabeni was approached comes through in the provision of the recreation hall, with Mansergh suggesting that the 'design already framed might be slightly altered from its present severity of outline in order to make the Hall somewhat more of a feature in the Location'.[74] The clerk of works suggested a year later that 'a market place should be established with stalls erected something similar to those used on the market places in English Country Towns'.[75] The Public Works Department was even keen on building some 'model cottages' in 1902.[76] These points are important, because they suggest that even before Garden City ideas came to dominant Cape Town's housing concerns, there was an impulse on the part of the stewards of the city to implement an environment that they were familiar with, and which would perhaps have been implemented if it were not for the arrival of the plague in Cape Town in 1901. There is also evidence to suggest that they were keen to attract Natives to Ndabeni so that they could 'live outside the congested areas inhabited by Europeans and the better coloured classes'.[77] Notwithstanding these efforts, Ndabeni, with its razor-wire fence and gridded concentration-camp-like layout (Figure 8.15) was not the most attractive accommodation in the city and was perhaps the implementation of ideas emergency housing and containment developed during the South African War that was still being fought at the time. Furthermore, the seven-inch numbers[78] attached to the dwellings were a sign, not for postal services, but for the more efficient management and control of this urban workforce, and an index that routed Natives back to a magisterial district in the tribal areas from where they came. It was, however, the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, that the more precise control and management of urbanized Natives was imagined.

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[70] [CGov]NA 457: 1901.02.28, Letter from Mansergh to Chairman of Native Location Advisory Board.
[71] His son, Brian Mansergh, became a partner in Herbert Baker and Kendall's firm. Another major Cape Dutch preservationist, Colonel W. Stanford, was Secretary to the Native Affairs Department and was directly involved with the production of Ndabeni.
[72] [CGov]NA 457: 1901.03.08, Letter from Mansergh to Noel Janisch, Under Colonial Secretary.
[73] [CGov]PWD 2/1/30: 1901.05.25, Letter from Mansergh to Newey.
[74] *Ibid.* 1901.04.09, Letter from Mansergh to The Chief Inspector of Public Works.
[75] *Ibid.* 1901.07.15, Report from J. Edward Fitt.
[76] *Ibid.* 1902.01.16, Letter from Mansergh to The Chief Inspector of Public Works.
[77] *Ibid.* 1902.07.15, Letter form Newey to Mansergh.
[78] *Ibid.* 1902.11.24, Requisition by the Clerk of Works.

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8.15 Ndabeni location, detail of layout, 1903. Source: [CAbox]PWD 2/1/27.

The Native (Urban Areas) Act

The Natives Land Act of 1913 effectively removed the possibility of any Native purchasing land outside of areas that were essentially tribal reserves or pre-existing locations such as Ndabeni, although it was still possible for a Native to purchase property within the boundaries of a municipality or local authority.[79] The Cape, having a longer history of land ownership by people other than European, was excluded from this limitation by allowing anyone wealthy enough to be on the voters' role free access to purchase any property. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923[80] (hereafter NUAA) brought about a nation-wide policy similar to that of the Native Reserve Locations Act, although the Stallard Commission leading to the Act had proposed that Natives were ultimately to be considered as rural people required to return to the Reserves if and when their labour was no longer needed in the cities. In an infamous comment in the report of the Commission, the understanding of the city as a White space could not be more clearly voiced. Not only were the 'habitually unemployed' to be removed but anyone not a model citizen was in perpetual danger of what effectively amounted to deportation to the reservations, that is to say: 'he be removed from the urban area or proclaimed area as the case may be and sent *to the place to which he belongs*' [emphasis added]. This last phrase clearly illustrates the unequivocal understanding that the presence of urban Natives was a spatial anomaly best resolved through their temporary residence in, or leasing of, a White space that was effectively "on loan to them" as long as they behaved like "us."

The un-negotiated and un-negotiable space of the location thus could become the expression of Whiteness and the apparent resolution of the contradictions of race in the colonial context. Its inhabitants, understood to be transients, were disallowed a vested interests in the specifics of the place. The location, as a smaller, bounded version of the White space of the city could thus remain undisrupted and unmarked by the passing of black bodies within its regularised and regulated space with all the opportunity for the reverse to occur. Within the location was to be a clear division between hostels and married quarters. In contrast to the Native Reserve Locations Act which had placed the onus of housing on the State, the Act made the housing and management of Natives in locations the responsibility of local authorities in whose boundaries the locations had been established. Whilst the design and supply of housing was the charge of the local authority, there was opportunity for Natives to erect their own dwellings, the design, dimensions and materials of which were subject to the approval of the local authority based on any rules and regulations it had passed in this regard. Rather than being driven by a consideration of individual desires and

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[79] [UGov]Act 27, 1913 (Natives Land Act).

concerns for self-determination of the environment, this clause was included in the hope that the cost of dwellings could be reduced through owner-built labour. The Act did, in a similar manner, allow for a number of institutions such as 'banks, hospitals, dispensaries, maternity homes, lodging houses, baths, wash-houses, recreation buildings or grounds, eating houses' to be developed in the locations. However, the paternalist impulse still sought to control, as expressed in the sentiment that these must be 'deemed by the urban local authority to be necessary or advisable in the interests of natives'. Ultimately though, the elements of design were at the approval of the Minister of Native Affairs, including the 'suitability of area and situation of the land set apart and the title thereto, the general plan and layout of the location or native village, the situation, nature and dimensions of any building and the provision made for water, lighting, sanitary and other necessary services for the location, native village or hostel as the case may be'. The space of the location was thus to be an un-negotiable space. It was one in which an Other, hybrid space was not allowed to develop. Finally, in order to reinforce the potential of social control through spatial means, the Act made it illegal for any Native to dwell within three miles of a local authority's boundary except within the location and unless specifically employed by the person on whose land the Native was dwelling.

Langa and Pinelands: An Appraisal of Garden City Ideas

The passing of the NUAA thus put the onus of providing accommodation for the Native residents of the city in the hands of the Council. That the Council had long avoided taking over the management of Ndabeni[81] suggests how strong the general sentiment was that 'the Native Problem' was to be dealt with by the Central Government who had always regulated the labour supply from the tribal areas. In fact, even though Ndabeni was within the borders of the City, it was legally separate, and as a Government reserve was exempt from legislation such as the NUAA. It was only incorporated into Cape Town because the Council decided to declare Cape Town under the NUAA on the 1st April 1926[82] – the registering and control of Natives in the city, through their allocation in space that this Act facilitated, would have been rendered inoperable had Ndabeni remained as a Government Reserve.

Although the Overcrowding Sub-Committee of the PH&BRC had, at the beginning of 1918, entertained the possibility of establishing another location where married Natives could own land,[83] it was after WWI and the Influenza Epidemic that the presence of Natives in the city became noted as problematic, especially due to the fact that magistrates refused to turn them out of their rented dwellings as there was no space for them in Ndabeni. Consequently, the CE was given an instruction towards the end of 1919 to investigate the possibility of the 'development of a portion of the "Vijgekraal Estate" off Klipfontein Road as a Native Location'.[84] The Native Affairs Commission, set up by the Central Government to investigate

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[80] [UGov]Act 21, 1923 (Native (Urban Areas) Act).
[81] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/1/1/9: Special Committee, 1919.10.16.
[82] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/2: NAC, 1926.04.16.
[83] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/1/1/8: Special Committee, 1918.01.29. and 1918.02.01.
[84] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/1/1/9: Special Committee, 1919.10.16.

retaining and extending Ndabeni, offered their suggestion that a new location for 'permanent male residents who were usually married with families, and for women' be established, whilst Ndabeni could be used as a residence for the 'floating population' – meaning migrant labourers – and as a 'clearing house for Natives coming to look for work'.[85] The Special Committee rejected Vijgekraal as a possible site due to its proposed use as a sewage disposal area, and objected to the continued use of Ndabeni 'owing to the nature of the ground and to its proximity to the proposed new Garden City [of Pinelands]'.[86] Already then, at a preliminary stage, the boundaries and proximities of race and class were being thought through and potentially separated through space.

To deal with the need to establish a new location, the Council established the Natives Township Committee in 1922, which a little while later became the Native Affairs Committee (hereafter NAC). The importance of the work at hand was indicated by the presence of the various Mayors of Cape Town at its meetings who were also often enough members when not holding that high office. Right from its first meeting in November 1922, the Committee considered the location as a 'township,'[87] in other words, a new residential development of Cape Town rather than a space of the Other which the term "location" tended to signify. The fact that the township was to be developed with loans supported by the ratepayers under the Municipal Provision of Homes Ordinance potentially put it on the same standing as MGV. The NUAA had allowed for the provision of a 'location' or 'native village,' the latter signifying the ability for natives to become homeowners on land leased from the local authority. Contrary to what may be understood by the term today, 'native village' denoted more of a sense of an English village than a rural African village and was part of the common discourse that had developed around the idea of the GCM in Cape Town at the time. As will be seen, the initial township layout by Thompson certainly supports this thesis. In the NAC's advert for the Superintendent of Natives of the proposed Native Township, Langa is called 'Langaville' and the Superintendent would be required to advise the Committee in the laying out of the 'Village'.[88]

The early stages of their discourse around the establishment of the 'New Native Township' and the search for a suitable name also underlines a set of values worthy of investigation. The first suggestion proposed by the NAC was to call it 'Voorspoed,'[89] an Afrikaans word meaning "good luck." The exact reason for this proposition was not given and a resolution was made to let the residents of Ndabeni decide. The name proposed was 'Langa' due to its connection with many African royals as well as being an abbreviation of the name of the Chief of the Amahlubi tribe, Langalibalele who led a rebellion in 1873 and was banished to Robben Island. More significantly, he was conscripted as one of the labourers who planted the trees at Uitvlugt where Ndabeni was established and thus the spatial and historical significance was far more locally rooted. The Superintendent of Ndabeni, R.

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[85] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/1/1/10: Special Committee, 1921.09.03.
[86] [CAmin]3/CT-1/5/1/1/10: Special Committee, 1921.09.03.
[87] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/1: NAC, 1922.11.06, Letter to the Secretary of the Divisional Council, 6th October 1922.
[88] *Ibid.*, NAC, 1923.08.28.
[89] *Ibid.*, NAC 1923.07.04.

Harrison, had strong reservations about 'honouring a rebel' and suggested naming the township

> after the village at which the great explorer and Missionary, Livingstone died, viz., CHITAMBA. There is no doubt that Dr. Livingstone did more for the Bantu races, and the civilization of the sub-continent than any other human being, and although his name and work is not known so well to the general run of natives in this part of the country, especially the uneducated, as that, for instance, the rebel Langalibalele, it is held by many that judged from every other aspect it would be incomparably a happier, and more suitable selection, and more likely to meet with the approval, not only of Europeans, but native people throughout the country wherein he laboured and gave up his long and noble life.[90]

The "civilizing" aspirations of the Superintendent and the possibility of developing Langa in the spirit of Livingstone are written between the lines. The NAC after deliberation adopted the name "Nqubela," meaning "success" as 'a suitable name for the new Native Township.' As an ironic conclusion to the naming affair, the Secretary of the Cape Peninsula Native Welfare Society wrote in a letter dated 18th July 1923 that the name "Nqubela" 'has a click which is unpronouncable by the majority of Europeans and will therefore be consistently mispronounced,'[91] and requested that the township be called Langa Village.

At the suggestion of the CE, T.B. Lloyd Davies, the Council engaged the English architect Albert John Thompson who had successfully completed the design of the Pinelands Garden City, to prepare the layout for the township of 5,000 residents, capable of expanding to allow for 10,000.[92] Thompson, who as early as 1921 had been lecturing members of the CIA including Delbridge, Glennie, Ritchie Fallon and John Perry on his work in England, had been used by the Pinelands Garden City Trust to rationalise John Perry's winning design for Pinelands layout and oversee the submittals of plans. The accommodation for 5,000 residents was intended to cover the number of residents at Ndabeni that needed to be catered for so that Ndabeni could be closed down. However, following discussion the NAC and consideration of a police report suggesting that as many as 5,000 Natives were resident in the city, the numbers were upped to 8,000 for the first phase and 12,000 for the total. The township was also to include administrative quarters, a hospital, a school, a police station, shops, and staff cottages.

There is scant evidence to suggest that the architect involved in the design and planning of Langa was motivated by any directly racist ideologies, yet there was much to suggest intended social ordering and exclusion. Thompson had worked in Unwin & Parker's office through the duration of the Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb projects.[93] This in itself would suggest that the "garden suburb" was approached as a social machine in which aesthetics was to have an uplifting effect for the "class" of person it was designed for. From the very beginning, Langa was conceived programmatically as a place divided

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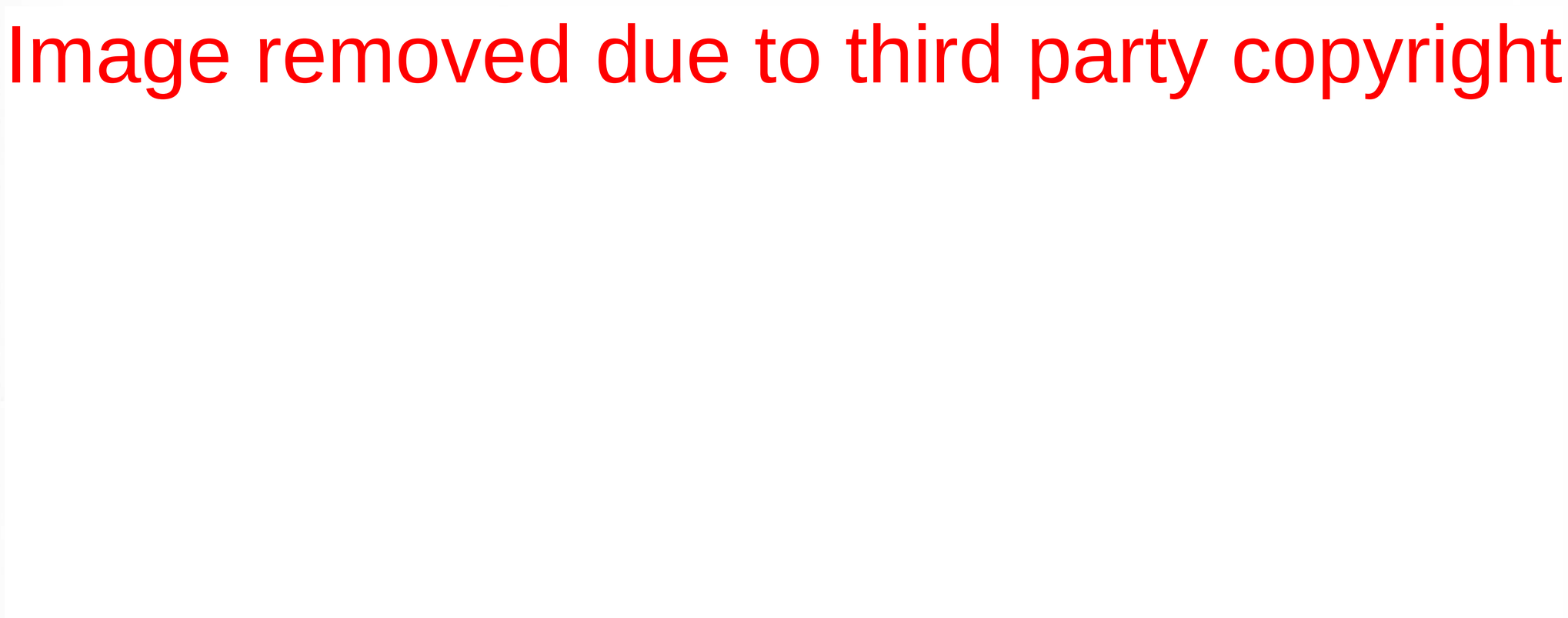
[90] *Ibid.*, NAC 1923.07.04, Letter from Superintendent of Natives dated 16th May 1923.
[91] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/1: NAC 1923.07.25.
[92] *Ibid.*, NAC, 1923.04.27. Report by the CE dated 18th April 1923.
[93] Miller, M., *Raymond Unwin. Garden Cities and Town Planning*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), p.53.



8.16 Langa layout, Drainage plan, 1923. Key: A. School, B. Meat Market, C. Fruit & Veg Market, D. Compound for 200 Single Women, E. Churches, F. Picture Theatre, G. Police Station, H. Admin, K. Compound for 2,000 Single Men, L. Church House. Source: [CAmap]M3/4005. Key letters added by author.

between those who were understood to be permanent married residents of Cape Town and those who were single, the latter social status further differentiated between men and women. Thus the residential requirements were considered to be 500 cottages, 1 hostel for 2,000 single men and 1 hostel for 100 single women. Thompson, who had been contracted on the 27th April 1923, submitted his initial report and layout to the NAC on the 28th June 1923.[94]

The only layout drawing remaining from that initial design is a drainage-plan overlay using the basic layout plan underneath (*Figure 8.16*). The primary structuring device Thompson used in the layout of the township was to locate the main roads, east-west and north-south, on the line of the existing fire-paths that ran through the forest, the reason being to retain 'some of the very fine trees which are already existing on the lines of these proposed roads'. Another main consideration was that the railway line be pushed to the boundary of the township so that no traffic – except that for the hospital – would be required to cross it. The train station and the eating hall of one hostel formed the main axis terminations for Station Avenue running north-south, whilst the other hostel's eating hall formed a minor axial termination for Central Avenue running east-west and crossing Station Avenue at Central Square. Central Square was the intended location of the administration and police quarters, as well as a cinema and two churches – a sort of church and state power-bloc, and perhaps the cinema a sign of commodification of the public realm. On the other hand, the station and its square was to form the commercial centre of the scheme, with fish and meat market halls, and fruit and vegetable market halls flanking Station Avenue, and

rows of shops flanking the station. The women's hostel was to be located opposite the school, and a pool was to be located at the southwest corner of the scheme, mainly to assist in controlling water run-off at the lowest point. These points aside, it seems clear (from Thompson's concern for placing the school away from the traffic of the main roads together with his concern for trees and his leaving open play areas behind the cottages) that he was basing the design of Langa on the elements of the GCM. The 1,920 houses dotted around the scheme – 8.5 to the acre as he points out – are of a density characteristic of the emerging garden suburbs in England and South Africa itself and were indicative of the extent to which the township may have been developed in the future. Each plot size was to be standard GCM sizes of 50' x 100'. There was even a swimming pool planned near the main road entrance.

There were, however, telltale elements of the design that defined the space as a location and suggest that the implications of the country's racial rationalities were not lost on Thompson. The Police Station was specifically located to give 'efficient police control,' whereby:

> A man on duty at the tower will be able to see over the whole Estate, and again a man on point duty at the centre of what you might call the Central Square will be able to see not only from end to end of the Central Avenue, but will be able to look into each of the large Compounds and directly up to the Station Square, and a Police Patrol on the roads running North and South would get immediate view East and West down all the other roads and across the open spaces.

Furthermore, Thompson suggests that his 'compounds' were modeled on those on the Crown Mines in Johannesburg (although the 27' x 30' unit was intended to accommodate 25 men and not 40 as in Johannesburg) – it should be noted that "hostels," rather than "compounds," was the standard form of group housing in the typical Garden Suburb. At one point in the report Thompson refers to the dwellings as 'huts' which suggests either that Thompson was using the term in a way he thought appropriate to the proposed inhabitants, or because he thought they were to erect their own dwellings which would be traditional in construction, but this term was most likely used to signify that it was small 20' x 20' dwellings that was intended to be provided by the City. Whatever the case, a little later in the project he was regularly referring to them as 'cottages'[95] as much of the general correspondence of the NAC and other Committees involved did.

It seems fairly apparent that Thompson used basic Garden Suburb principles he learnt as Unwin's 'protégé' and 'office manager'[96] in his initial and subsequent layout designs of Langa. This is suggested by comparisons made between the Langa layout and the Hampstead Garden Suburb in London (Figure 8.17) along with the WWI munitions township of Gretna outside Carlisle (Figure 8.19) and confirmed in his layout of Pinelands (Figure 8.18).

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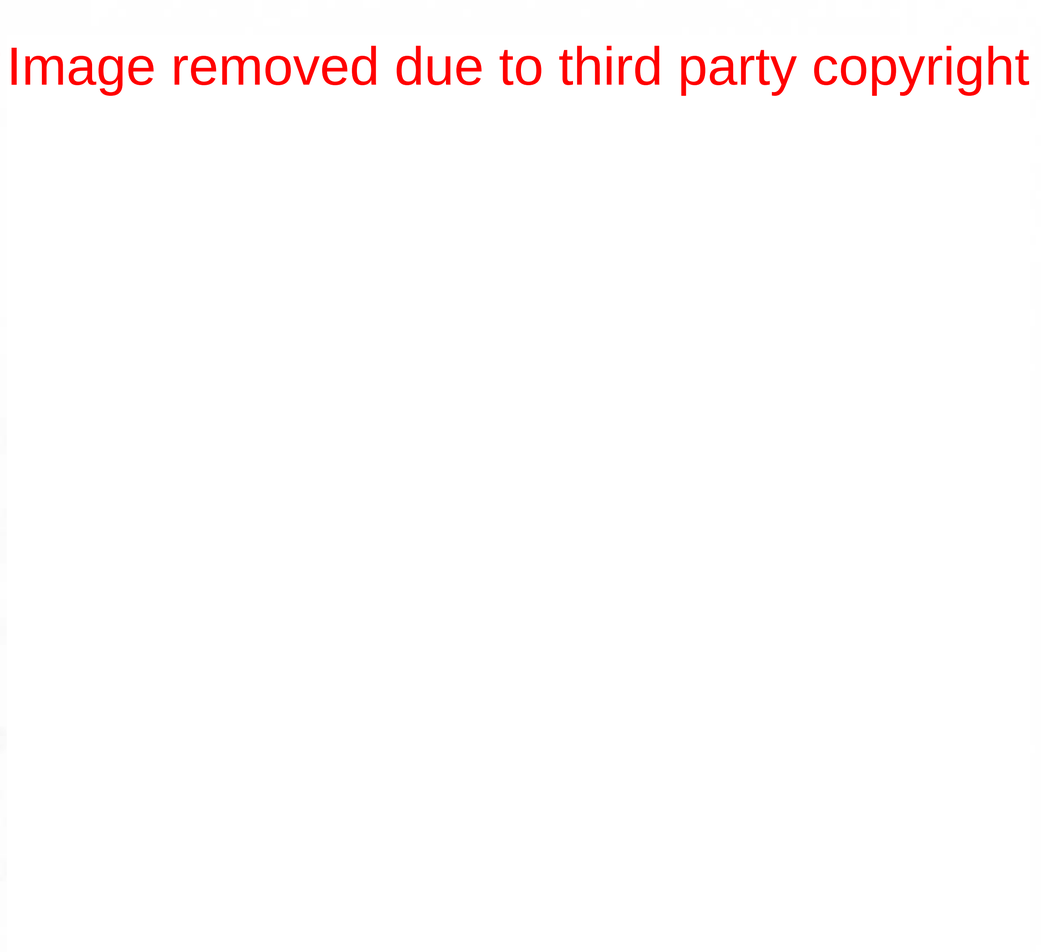
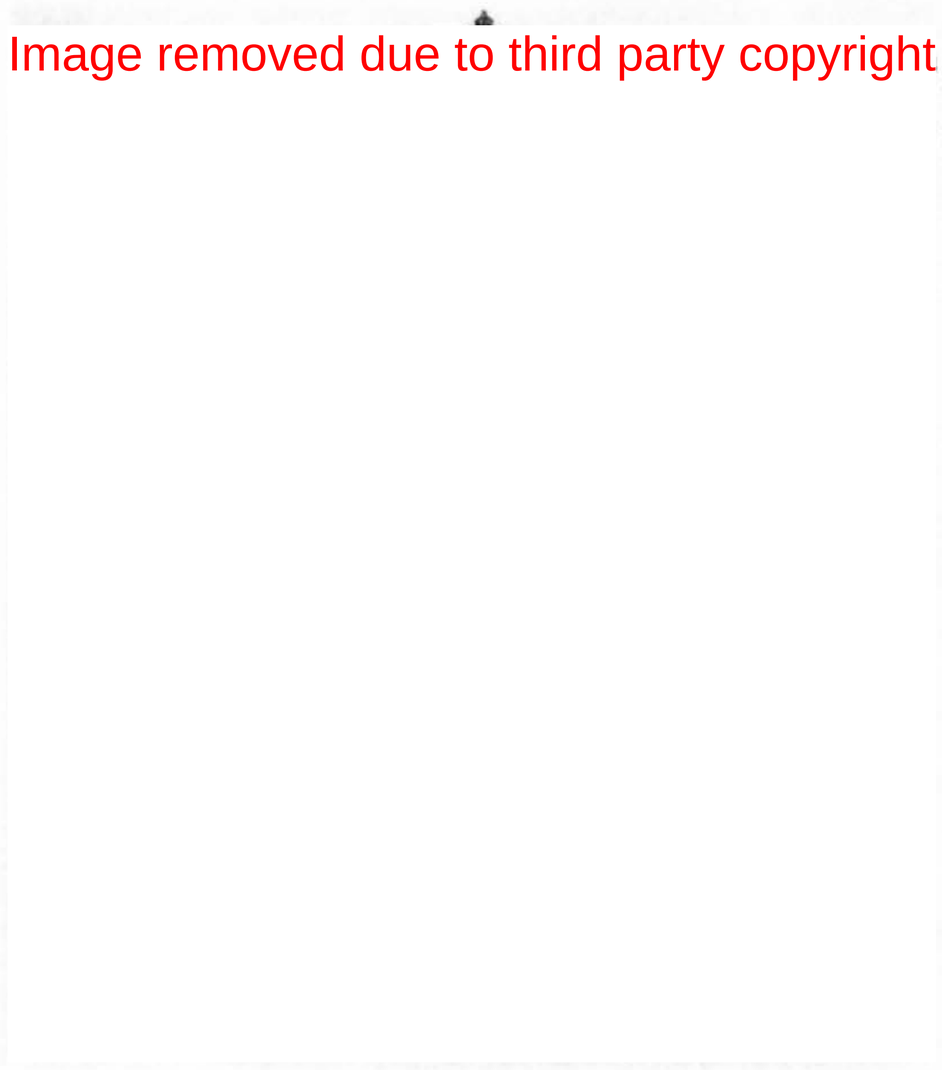
[94] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/1: NAC, 1923.07.04.
[95] *Ibid.*, 1923.09.12.
[96] Miller, M., *Raymond Unwin*, p.89.

8.17 Hampstead Garden Suburb layout, c.1910. Source: Miller, *Raymond Unwin.*



8.18 Pinelands layout of initial development c.1920. Source: [CAmap]M4-1902.



8.19 Unwin, layout for Gretna, c.1915. Source: Miller, *Raymond Unwin.*

These four layout designs all share a similar, and somewhat formal and orthogonal, civic and commercial axis, although Langa's exhibits a far more symmetrical design. All four have a main square designated Central Square, whilst Gretna, Pinelands and Langa both have avenues extending from this called Central Avenue, although this name did not remain in use at Langa. Hampstead, Pinelands and Langa show a concern for and the development of cul-de-sacs as well as communal areas behind the dwellings forming internal squares, although in Pinelands these had been largely subsumed by *cul-de-sacs*. Furthermore, both Pinelands and Langa show the development of a women's hostel "protected" from the street in a quadrangle form behind a row of houses. Whilst Hampstead and Pinelands have a far more "organic" and web-like layout, both Gretna and Langa show a fairly rigid disposition of dwelling accommodation, suggesting their common status as labour centres rather than fully-fledged Garden Suburbs. For its part Pinelands shows a remarkable similarity to Hampstead in its disposition of the buildings in and around the Central Square.

Although the CE had been given complete control of the development of Langa until a Superintendent of Natives – a paternalist position of mediation and control akin to the status of a White "chief" – could be selected, [97] he specifically requested that Thompson be retained as 'Consulting Architect' on the project for a year.[98] Together they set about interpreting the comments from the Provincial Secretary reporting suggestions made by Colonel Trew,

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[97] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/1/1: NAC, 1923.07.18.
[98] *Ibid.*, 1923.09.12.

Deputy Commissioner of Police, and Dr Wilmot, Assistant MOH for the Union of South Africa. These included:

8.20 Langa, interim layout showing the star-shaped 'panopticon' compound and the 'Single Quarters' on the west (left) . Source: [CAmap]M3-4008.

> 2). A Compound should not hold more than 1,000 natives and should be so designed that not more than 250 men should occupy one section and further that the sections be so planned that in case of emergency each can be closed to access from any other section. 3). The Compounds should be so placed that they are in the vicinity of the railway station so as to avoid passage through the area set apart for married natives. 4). The Compounds should be surrounded by an open space. It is considered that the suggestion No.3 would be in the interests of morality and all would greatly facilitate police control.[99]

That the Compound was considered to be a space apart – yet without the Romantic pretences of Hampstead Garden suburb and its "medieval" wall – is clearly indicated in the above quote and shown in the resulting design in which the suggestions of Trew and Wilmot were taken into account (Figure 8.20) in the star-shaped compound that is indicated. Yet even the single males were further classified and ordered into appropriate accommodation; those migrant labourers who were thought would most likely return to the tribal areas after contract labour was over would occupy the Compounds or barracks as they were now being called, whilst those who had been in the city a fairly long time and were not considered to be 'temporaries' were to be housed on the 'cubicle system' or 'Quarters' for more 'comfort and privacy'.[100] The second layout design shows the compound at the west end of what became Washington Street being replaced by these 'Quarters' with ablution facilities located between

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[99] *Ibid.*
[100] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/1: NAC, 1923.08.28.

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8.21 Langa, design for 'Single Huts for Men.' Source: [CAmap]M1-3375.

the units (Figure 8.21). Whilst it is plausible that the permanent, single men of the city may have preferred and motivated for these single room dwellings[101] and indeed could have afforded the higher rents intended to be charged for them, the basic intention of keeping "the raw kafir" separate from permanently urbanised Natives for fear of mutual social and moral "contamination" plays itself out in the interim (Figure 8.20) and final design (Figure 8.23). Whilst Hampstead and Letchworth had largely failed at their intended aim of bringing the different classes together in areas of common interest, the design at Langa shows a clear intention of "class" segregation, the only possible interaction taking place in the communal kitchen and dining area which had moved to the centre of the 'barracks' (Figure 8.23).

With regard to the compound, Thompson stated, in a report dated 20th November 1923, that 'we should endeavour to make it look as little like a barracks as possible.' Control of the "inmates" was, however, a major concern. As was mentioned above, the barracks were divided into four 250 person "wings" (shown as large U's on the layout, and perhaps similar to Garden City quadrangle accommodation) to better isolate potential unrest. The design essentially had the U's turn their backs on the outside world, setting up a series of contained courtyards focused in on a kitchen, eating house and ablution blocks. The revised design, although having no central guard-tower, does resemble the general radial patterns of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century prisons based on the panopticon[102] idea of surveillance, and is a distinct move away from the subtler quadrangle designs for the hostels of Hampstead and other garden suburbs. Certainly the main axial entrance to the barracks was between the admin building and the Superintendent's houses, as well as between two of his assistant's houses allowing them a certain amount of visual control over who entered and left the barracks.

Following what Jennifer Robinson has noted as the emergence of a 'location strategy',[103] the space of locations in general was overlaid with a complementary set of regulations and rules; that the administrators of these rules were located so close to the objects of these regulations was clearly a part of this strategy of control. That these dwellings were fairly large and had tiled roofs compared to the corrugated roofs of the other dwellings would have set them further apart. Although the fence that enclosed Langa was initially

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[101] *Ibid.*, 1923.11.27, the idea of Quarters came after meeting with the Cape Peninsula Native Welfare Society.
[102] Foucault, M., *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*, (London: Penguin Books, 1977), p.197.
[103] Robinson, J., *The Power of Apartheid*, p.59.

required as part of the conditions by which the central government had granted the city the land in order to "protect" the adjacent forest,[104] it no doubt served the obvious added purpose of forcing people to enter and leave Langa at a single point. The detail design of the barracks also contributed to this attempt at control. Thompson pointed out that the windows at the back walls of the barracks were all fixed-panes so that 'parcels could not be passed through from the outside of the compound'.[105] This was in deference to the temperance sensibilities prevalent at the time as well as the restrictions on the type of alcohol Natives could legally consume.

The fixing shut of the windows of the barracks brings to light another aspect of the design for Langa. As a further indication of the locations' "Otherness," and following the NUAA, the space of locations was exempt from Municipal building regulations, although the more "scientific" aspects of dwelling inhabitation were implemented through the Public Health Act, albeit in a less stringent form. Consequently, and in keeping with the emerging "science" of inhabitation introduced into the building regulations, a ridge vent and vent grilles in the walls had to be introduced to maintain the "correct" air circulation. This requirement also had an influence of the design of the Quarters for single men and women. The original sketch design by Thompson shows a hand-written acknowledgement that the design was illegitimate as it was 'back to back' and the ceiling was potentially too low at 8' 6".[106] The dwelling type was eventually built without ceilings and with dividing walls not extending to the roof, thereby facilitating cross-ventilation. The obsession for fresh-air as a preventative measure against disease and ill-health – not forgetting the common addition of 'sleeping verandahs' in many of the middle-class house designs of the period – made the barracks and Quarters very draughty, such that it became a major cause for complaint by the inhabitants.[107] Residents of the barracks also complained that the central fireplace in each unit caused the rooms to be filled with smoke even though they had chimneys. Locating the fireplace in the centre of the room obviously gave greater heating efficiency but there is also the possibility that this may have been an attempted reference to the central fireplace of the rural "hut." Other reasons for complaint were the concrete bunks.

8.22 Langa, photo of 'Barracks,' c.1934.
Source: Schapera, *Western Civilisation & the Natives of South Africa.*

Initially, 725 dwellings for married Natives were to have been erected by labourers from amongst the residents themselves, following the designs and example of two model cottages that were planned to be built as suggested by G.P. Cook, Superintendent for

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[104] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/1: NAC, 1923.02.14.
[105] *Ibid.*, 1923.11.27.
[106] [CAmap]M1/3380.
[107] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/2: NAC, 1927.10.25.

Image removed due to third party copyright

8.23 Langa, aerial photo, 1935. Source: [CCC] Labels added by Author.

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8.24 Langa, design for two-roomed houses, 1932.11.19. Source: [CAmap]M2-2522.

Langa.[108] Cook, who had previously been Superintendent of the location at Bloemfontein, felt that this approach had been used to good effect there. Qualifying for the Married Quarters, however, was fairly onerous. Cook recommended that the husband – female heads of households and widows could not apply – would have to prove being resident in Cape Town for a number of years as well as be of a 'good character' and 'legally married other wise there would be a danger of the wrong class getting a hold of stands'.[109] Eventually, Cook recommended that the self-built cottages be abandoned in favour of cottages provided by the Council. This was in order to facilitate the removal of residents from Ndabeni to Langa in a complete and managed way which the ad hoc self-built approach would have disallowed.[110]

Although Thompson's scheme had initially shown detached single-family units, the dwellings that were eventually built were grouped into six units of two-rooms each, 150 of them being handed over for occupation towards the end of 1928[111] and 300 having been completed by August 1929.[112] That Langa was to receive no subsidy[113] from the government no doubt played a role in attempts to affect a cost saving in this manner. Three elements of this change in design and product illustrated the eventual abandonment of the idea of Langa as a garden suburb on lines similar to MGV and Roeland Street: firstly the usual maximum grouping of dwelling units as at Roeland Street was four and not six; secondly, most garden suburb dwellings for the working classes were at least three-roomed; thirdly, the plans themselves show these two rooms vaguely labeled as 'room' as if the interior space was impossible to define through any "standard" functions of the home (Figure 8.24).

This whittling-away of Garden Suburb standards is also reflected in the way in which Langa changed its official and colloquial designation from Township or Village to Location over the years. It perhaps signifies the change in perception of the reality that the NAC and

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[108] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/1: NAC, 1924.02.05.
[109] *Ibid.*, 1924.07.29.
[110] *Ibid.*, 1924.07.29.
[111] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/3: NAC, 1928.10.15.
[112] *Ibid.*, 1929.08.19.

the CE had created through the processes of compromise based on economy. Yet the design, as it developed, did not lose all of its Garden Suburb sentiments or values. For example, the Postal Authorities suggested that the proposed post-office and savings bank be located in the station building as this was the 'business quarter'.[114] That the CE and the NAC were concerned for maintaining Langa in a certain image is given by their response to the Railways Department who proposed erecting wood-and-iron dwellings for the station:

> Read memorandum from the City Engineer dated 6th October, 1923, stating that in his opinion wood-and-iron buildings would not be in keeping with the scheme the Council were about to undertake and further stating that permanent buildings with ample accommodation should be provided, and that the plans of the station and buildings connected therewith should be submitted for the approval of the Committee before construction was commenced.[115]

All the buildings at Langa were indeed built of brick.

The first few years of Langa's development saw the city having to manage the location of Ndabeni whilst attempting to have its residents removed to Langa. In fact, prior to the Married Quarters becoming available, the accommodation at Ndabeni had to be increased with the introduction of Nissen tents ('A'-frame corrugated-iron dwellings).[116] The establishment and development of Langa had been urged in 1924 by A.G. Godley, the Secretary of Native Affairs, as the only way for the 'Council to achieve any measure of success in cleaning up the City'.[117] The first ten years saw a significant amount of building at Langa, yet, and as others have noted,[118] the City was plagued by the general avoidance of living at Langa and consequently large parts of it remained empty. Certainly by 1936, after the increase in accommodation at Langa and the eventual closing of Ndabeni, much of the 'cleaning up' the City had occurred, with most Natives being required to live there. The City even employed 'special constables' in an attempt to fill Langa with single Natives,[119] the arrests made for November 1927 being 242.[120] Yet there were those who managed to remain beyond its fences and the controlling influence of its administrators. The NUAA allowed employers of black labour to apply to establish mini-locations at their point of employment and Cook, as the Superintendent of Natives for Cape Town, received many applications from dairies and brickfields in this regard. Many domestic workers resided in the suburbs as live-in servants, whilst a few Natives avoided Langa through being property owners and on the voters roll, although even then Cook was keen to have their living conditions investigated.[121] Yet, there were many more who avoided being brought under control through the establishment of informal settlements located at the periphery of space that had been produced and surveyed, or in the back alleys of District Six. Even so, it could be said that

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[113] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/1: NAC, 1924.08.27.
[114] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/1: NAC, 1924.02.05.
[115] *Ibid.*, 1923.10.11.
[116] *Ibid.*, 1923.05.15.
[117] *Ibid.*, 1924.11.19.
[118] Saunders, C., 'From Ndabeni to Langa' in *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, v.1, n.(84).
[119] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/2: NAC, 1927.10.18.
[120] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/3: NAC, 1927.12.19.
[121] [CAmin]3/CT-1/4/10/1/1/3: NAC, 1929.04.15.

Langa, for a brief period, effectively resolved the contradictions of the modernism of labour-intensive industrial capitalism with the Romanticism of the civilising and socialising mission of the Garden Suburb.

Conclusion

Faced with increasing complaints regarding the social space of Old Cape Town, the stewards of the city set about restructuring the physical and visual conditions of the city, whilst simultaneously planning the removal of Others, especially Coloureds, to the suburbs. These initial Garden City inspired suburban projects were the antithesis of the internalised, fractured and dense spaces of Wells Square and were "ideal" places where these Others could be restructured as a Same, through the control of the environment in which they lived. Natives, on the other hand, posed more of a problem for the stewards of the city, and their ambivalence as to how to effectively deal with these Others shows in their ambivalence in the provision of dwellings in the locations of Ndabeni and Langa. Although Ndabeni had been developed prior to the Garden City idea being present at the Cape, it attempted to maintain, through space, a hierarchised social division between those who were considered to be "civilised" and those who were not, whilst its initial design proposed "cottages" as the main housing typology for the city's permanent Native population. It was, however, in Langa that the ambitions of the stewards of the city to structure a hierarchised, English space found its greatest potential through the Garden City Movement. Here, the dreams of Englishness managing away the social space of Others, was lost as the cost of the social engineering project began to mount. Eventually, Langa ended up as a space whose physical dimensions reinforced the changing attitude to Natives at the Cape, that they were not welcome in the city, and were not worthy of standards of accommodation, light and air that the stewards of the city were implementing elsewhere in Cape Town.

Conclusion

> On the steps of an old Dutch house the Guide broke the silence. 'Here in this place you see the Divine plan; order out of chaos, light from darkness, reversed. The new order is corruption after decency, foulness where once cleanliness and beauty reigned. Once this dwelling was a home – one family dwelt here – the name____ You remember it in the old Cape books. The old man – I see him now – found pride in the spotless white steps, the well-oiled doors and the shining brass. Not far away stands the old Theatre, and down this road the nobility of the day walked in the cool of the evening. Lady Anne Barnard was no stranger here; it seems as yesterday. But come, let us enter.'
>
> Archdeacon Lavis, 'The Pity of It... and Bethlehem."[1]

A few days before Christmas 1924, Archdeacon Lavis (later Bishop), a crusader of Cape Town's slum clearances and housing reformer, provided the readers of *The Cape* with a Grinch-like horror-story. In the article Lavis presents a protagonist called Tomkins who is visited on Christmas Eve by 'The Spirit of Cape Town as God Meant It To Be' and taken on a journey – and the specific spatiality involved should be noted – from the suburbs into 'Old Capetown'. Under the direction of his 'Guide' he enters his 'pet aversion – a slum dwelling' where 'foulness reigns'. After their tour where 'devils lurk,' the Guide petitions Tomkins that a '"Home" and not a "hovel," is the right of the poorest men and women and of each little child,' and this right extends to having 'an environment which will develop and not retard the upward, onward, physical and spiritual movement in each human life!' An environment that the Guide suggests is not obtainable in the city itself, the place of which 'entails the loss of happiness, beauty, power and love'.

There are a number of reasons why I have chosen to conclude this thesis with Lavis' article. Firstly it is the perfect example of how different identities can become represented and structured through representations of domestic space. The second reason is that it is offers a convenient summary of the chapters of this thesis. The phrases 'old Dutch house' and 'Lady Anne Barnard was no stranger here; it seems as yesterday,' not only place an English presence side-by-side with Cape Dutch architecture, but also telegraphs both into the present: it is obvious that the building requires preservation to protect this "common" past. This is the central idea dealt with in Chapter One. There is also the expectation that the "heroes" of the past are to be known and are to be remembered 'in the old Cape books.'

The phrase 'Divine plan; order out of chaos, light from darkness' suggests an almost religious conviction in the cultural artefacts of Western civilisation. As shown in Chapter Two, a Cape Dutch building is not simply a relic from the past, but is evidence of Western civilisation's, or rather, the British Empire's, unquestionable mission to the world.

The ideas of Chapter Three are also present in the phrase 'the nobility of the day,' and suggests the Romantic undertone with which politicians and main players of South Africa and the Cape invented themselves as a landed gentry through the Cape Dutch homestead.

The idea of the aesthetics of the visual, as investigated in Chapter Four, is also present in the valuing of 'cleanliness and beauty' and the 'spotless steps' and 'shining brass.'

Chapter Five examined the way in which slums were represented as places where 'devils lurk,' and where an ascription of Otherness was made through the dwelling and the use of its space. The phrase 'let us enter' also indicates the way in which these Other-spaces came to be mapped.

The last three chapters of this thesis are hinted at in a number of ways. The idea of the "home" as being a single-family detached dwelling located in the suburbs is suggested in the fact that Tomkins himself is from the suburbs, and that the old Dutch dwelling was 'a home - one family dwelt here'. The other idea of Chapter Six, that of environmental determinism, is also suggested in the words 'develop' the 'upward, onward, physical and spiritual movement in each human life.' Finally, the Garden City Movement is hinted at in the idea that an urban environment entails the 'loss of happiness, beauty, power and love.'

Lastly, Lavis's article also offers a description of the key ideas that have led to the structuring of this thesis into three parts. The Self is manifested through a cultural life based on the History of Western civilisation, typically located outside of the city (although located in the city in Lavis's article for greater effect) and symbolised through the "beautiful" artefacts of "high" architecture. These buildings are also symbolic markers of the legitimate and necessary possession of the land by the coloniser. In contrast, the threatening Other is located within the city with its lack of boundaries, order and aesthetic appeal. Here the Other works away at the Self, posing his very undoing by putting in danger that which represents his very Self, namely the "high" architecture of Western civilisation. The "solution" is the removal of these Others from the dangerous fluidity of the ugly city into the Whiteness of the suburbs where boundaries are maintained and where the Other can be made into the Same and where hybridity is eradicated. The Other's absence from the city and ordering and restructuring in the garden suburbs (even only if as a simulacra of the Self), then, is taken as an effective resolution of the contradictions of colonisation.

Yet Cape Town, or South Africa, was not alone in this kind of representation and restructuring of the Self and "his" Others. Consider, for example, Octavia Hill's simultaneous efforts aimed at valorising and protecting England's bucolic heritage through the National Trust and her slum clearance and rehousing activities. Her work was born out of the same concerns for "culture" and the "proper" way of living that we have seen evidence of at the Cape. Thus, it is easy to hear the words of her friend and mentor, John Ruskin, or see his influence, permeating through in the representations and restructuring of the spaces of Cape Town that we have looked at. As J.R. Finch, Town Clerk and author of the official guidebook to Cape Town, says: 'Bring your trout rod and your books on nature, your gun, your volumes of Ruskin, when starting Southward Ho!'[2] It is in this sense, that the pre-Apartheid restructuring of the spaces of Cape Town was not simply the result of an early desire for racial segregation, but also the effects of a set of particularly English values that saw the stewards of the city set about restructuring Cape Town into a set of spaces after their own image. Nor was this simply the "neutral" effect of cultural activity. It was this representing and

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[1] [Mag]*The Cape*, v.19, n.492, (December, 1924).
[2] Finch, J. R., *The Cape of Good Hope*, p.12.

restructuring that set up a series of inclusions and exclusions, of legitimate and illegitimate ways of being, that in turn legitimised the possession of the land and its history, and effectively dispossessed Others from the land and made them History-less.

The writing of a cultural history framed through postcolonial theory obviously has the potential to deliver some new insights into South Africa's pre-Apartheid cities. This thesis has shown, that to consider, for example, the design of Groote Schuur in 1892 and the design of Ndabeni in 1900, or the design of the Cape Dutch South Africa pavilion in Wembley in 1924 and the beginnings of the design of Langa location in 1923, or the declaration of Groot Constantia as a national monument in 1936 and the Slums Act in 1934, is not to simply study events in the built environment held together by time and place, but is to get to the heart of how culture and identity are integral parts of the processes of colonial possession and dispossession. What this study perhaps lacks is a more explicit investigation into two issues, namely, the relationship between gender identities and architecture, and what Henri Lefebvre[3] identifies as "the space of representation," which have become marginalized as this thesis has focussed on the values and concerns of the "producers" of architecture. Although the issues of gender have been touched on in this thesis, a more thorough analysis of the period in these terms is in order. For its part, concerns for "the space of representation," tends to be focussed on the "users" of space and how identity is constructed *on their own terms*. Whilst this more anthropological concern is obviously an important issue to be dealt with, my interests as an educator and an architect have tended to problematise the role architects played in imagining or creating "ideal" spaces. The issue of how those "ideal" spaces were or were not used "correctly" and were perhaps adapted to "other" uses has not been tackled in this thesis.

What, then, is 'The Production of the City as a White Space'? Obviously it can be literally read as the racial segregation that was undertaken in South Africa's cities in the pre-Apartheid era. It can, however, also be understood as the result of the failed attempts at the production of the city as an English space. At the heart of the humanist project of the Garden City Movement, with its visions of a universal Englishness, was a desire to bring to the world that which was "proper" and "ideal," namely, the English village and its cottages. The City, with its messy vitality, fluidity of identities and uterine spaces, needed to be eradicated, or made uninhabited, or turned inside-out to be bleached in the bright light of Whiteness, or, at the very least, just made to look correct and ordered. As such, other, or new forms of being in the world, were necessarily excluded, and hybridity was hastily removed. Yet the models of the Self prevailed in forms far removed from the ideal. Garden City representations of the cottage and its wisps of chimney-smoke became, in reality, the neutered, isolationist space of the homogenous suburb of modernism. Looking on, to the gridded and arid landscape of suburban Apartheid townships that followed these initial housing schemes, there is a sense that they were somehow construed as a punitive measure, a sort-of intentionally

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[3] Lefebvre, H., *The Production of Space*.

dehumanising project that only the monster of Apartheid could construct. Perhaps, though, this dehumanised landscape was simply born out of the "humanist" and anti-urban project that the English and their Empire brought with them to the Cape.

But the production of the city as a White space is not just about housing models and slum clearances. It is about how Whiteness legitimised its dominance in the world, how it produced and managed its identity through the control and representation of cultural products such as the socially and spatially decontextualised "high" architecture of Western civilisation, whilst simultaneously delegitimising the activities and spaces of otherness. It is about the protection and production of the city as the space in which only Whiteness appears – and in the abstracted space of the White city, things appear, before they *are*. Everything has its place and its boundaries; the Self there in the museum and the Home, and the Native there in his "hut." On the other hand, the condition of hybridity, like urbanity itself, is demanding and even dangerous in the muddled vitality and disorder it creates. It cuts through the boundaries of the White city, requiring inventiveness and work, denying the easy polarities of Self and Other.

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Appendix A: Who's Who

Name	Profession	Summary
Abdurahman, Abdullah	Doctor Councillor	Born 1872, Cape. 1904 elected to Cape Town Council representing District Six. President of the African Political Organisation 1905-1940.
Anderson, Alfred J.	Medical Officer	Born 1858, England. South Africa in 1901. Medical Officer of Health for the city of Cape Town until 1923.
Baker, Herbert	Architect	Born 1864, England. Moved to Cape town 1892, then to Johannesburg 1902. Designed Groote Schuur and initiated the Cape Dutch revival in architecture.
Beck, J.H. Meiring	Politician, Doctor	Born 1856, Cape. Cape delegate to the National Convention. Owner of the Drostdy at Tulbagh. Executive Committee member of the Koopmans-de-Wet preservation committee, 1913. MLA for Worcester.
Beck, Lady Mary	Unknown	Owner of the Drostdy at Tulbagh. Executive Committee member of the Koopmans-de-Wet preservation committee, 1913.
Botha, C. Graham.	Archivist	Born 1883, Cape. Head of Cape Archives, 1912. Chief Archivist of the Union, 1919. Honourable Secretary of the Historical Monuments Commission, 1923.
Brydone, Robert R.	Business	Born 1864, Scotland. South Africa in 1886. Member of the Closer Union Society, Executive Committee, 1909. Executive Committee member of the Koopmans-de-Wet preservation committee, 1913.
Chaplin, F. Drummond	Politician	Born 1866, England. South Africa 1896. Administrator of Rhodesia. MLA for Germiston. President of Chamber of Mines
Clarke, F.	Professor	Born 1880, England. South Africa in 1911. Professor, and Dean of Education, University of Cape Town.
Cornish-Bowden, A.H.	Surveyor-General	Chairman of the Townships Board from 1929.
Delbridge, W.J.	Architect, Editor	Born 1880, Mossel Bay, Cape. Partnership with A.H. Reid. Member of the Cape Institute of Architects Council. Cape Town witness for the Housing Commission of 1920. Assessor of the Pinelands competition in 1920. City Council member c.1919.
Elliot, Arthur	Photograph	Born c.1870, New York. South Africa in the late 1880s. Takes up photography c.1900. Union exhibition 1910, then exhibitions in 1913, 1926, 1930, 1938. At this last exhibition more than half of the 400 photos were architectural. His collection is at the State Archives in Cape Town.
Fairbridge, Dorothea	Writer	Born 1862, Cape. Founding member of the SANS. Wrote novels as well as published books on Cape Dutch architecture.
Finch, J. R.	Town Clerk	Member of Sub-Committee of SANS in 1909 for an exhibition of colonial furniture and antiquities. Author of the Cape's official guidebook in which extensive attention is given to Cape Dutch homesteads. Committee member of SANS c1931. Member of the Koopmans-de-Wet preservation committee, 1913.
Gardiner, Frederick G.	Judge	Born 1874, England. South Africa in 1878. Judge President of Cape Provincial Division, Supreme Court of S.A. Member of the Closer Union Society, Executive Committee, 1909.
Glennie, Fred	Architect	Hon. Secretary of the SANS, 1914. Restores Boshoff gates in c1922, and the Tulbagh church c1925. Winner of the Roeland Street housing scheme, c.1920 and Cape Institute of Architects measured drawing prize, 1912.
Goodman, Gwello	Painter	Born 1871, England. Royal Academy exhibitor. Much contact with James Morris, Frank Kendall, and Dorothea Fairbridge.

		Extensive catalogue of Cape Dutch homesteads. "Architect" of Cape Dutch inspired sugar town Tongaat in Kwa-Zulu Natal. Painted Cape Dutch homesteads in South Africa House, London.
Hockly, Harold E.	Barrister	Born 1897, Cape.
Higgins, Tom Shadick	Medical Officer	Arrived in Cape Town 1923.
Howard, Adolf .G.	Architect, Author	Born 1853, England. South Africa 1876. PWD Chief architect in 1900-1908. 1901 Architect for Ndabeni. Colonial Architect, Public Works Dept, 1904.
Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik (Onze Jan)	Politician	Born 1845, Cape. Editor of *De Zuid Afrikaan*, 1871-1883, and *Ons Land*, 1892. Cape Town branch of the Afrikaner Bond. MLA for Stellenbosch, 1879-1895.
Jagger, John W.	Merchant	Born 1859, England. South Africa 1880. Vice-Chairman of the Closer Union Society, 1909. MLA for Cape Town 1902.
Kendall, Frank	Architect	Born 1870, Australia. South Africa and joins Herbert Baker 1896. President of the Cape Institute of Architects, 1913-15. Supervised reconstruction of Groot Constantia.
Kolbe, F.C.	Reverend	Rev. Monsignor. Man of letters and art critic.
Lloyd-Davies, D.E.	City Engineer	Born 1875, England. South Africa 1914. City Engineer Alexandria, Egypt. City Engineer, Cape Town.
Malan, Daniel F.	Politician	Born 1874, Cape. Chairman of the National Party for the Cape Province.
Malan, Francois S.	Politician	Born 1871, Cape. Vice-Chairman of the Closer Union Society, 1909. Minister of Agriculture. Minister of Education. Minister of Mines and Industry. MLA for Malmesbury.
Mansergh, Brian G.L.	Architect	Born 1897. Partnership with C.P. Walgate. Son of Lewis Mansergh.
Mansergh, C. Lewis	Public Servant	Born 1863, Cape Town. Secretary of the Public Works Department. Member of the Koopmans-de-Wet preservation committee, 1913. Committee member of the SANS, c1927 and Vice-President c1934. Chairman of the Cape Penninsula Publicity Association's Advertising Committee. Council member for Wynberg.
Martienssen, Rex	Architect	South Africa's first "modernist master." Made a survey of Cape Dutch homesteads in 1928, what he called a 'pilgrimage.'
Masey, Francis E.	Architect	Born 1861, London. 1899-1909 Partner of Herbert Baker. Founder of S.A. Society for the Preservation of Objects of Historical Interest in 1901. Articles on Cape Dutch architecture in *The State*
Masey, Frederick W.	Architect	Born 1877, London. Half-brother of Francis Masey. 1903-1906 with Baker and Masey. Own practice in Bloemfontein until 1954.
Merriman, John X.	Politician	Born 1841, England. Owner of Schoongezicht homestead, c.1900-1910. Prime Minister of the Cape, 1908-1910. Member of the Koopmans-de-Wet preservation committee, 1913. First Chairman of the Van Riebeeck Society, c1918.
Moerdyk, Gerard	Architect	Born 1890, Transvaal. Studied at the AA, London. Later advocate of Cape Dutch as an Afrikaner national style.
Morris, James	Architect	Born 1878, Scotland. Member of the Cape Institute of Architects, Council, 1913-14. Partnership with Baker and Kendall, 1916-1925, and then private practice.
Pearse, Geoffrey	Professor	Professor of architecture, Wits University, Transvaal. Author of first academic text on Cape Dutch architecture. Brought later modernist students on a 'pilgrimage' to the Cape.
Phillips, Sir Lionel & Lady Florence	Mining, Politician	Born 1855, London. South Africa 1875. Chairman of the Chamber of Mines. Purchased Vergelegen in 1917.

Reid, Arthur	Architect	Born 1856, England. South Africa, 1877. Cape Town Assistant City Engineer, 1878. President of the CIA, 1911. Member of the Cape Peninsula Publicity Association c.1922.
Sauer, James W.	Politician	Born 1850, Cape. Minister of Native Affairs, c.1913. Owner of Uitkijk homestead, c.1910.
Schreiner, W.P.	Politician	Born 1857, Cape. Prime Minister of the Cape, 1898-1900. President of the Closer Union Society, 1909. Member of the Koopmans-de-Wet preservation committee. Member of SANS, c.1923.
Sivewright, Honourable Sir James	Politician	Born 1848, Scotland. Commissioner of Public Works. Owner of the Lourensford estate, c.1916. MLA for Griqualand East.
Smartt, Thomas William	Politician	Commissioner of Public Works. Leader of the Unionist party, c.1919. Member of the SANS, 1923. Lives at Glenban, Stellenbosch.
Solomon, Joseph M	Architect Artist	Born 1888, Cape. Joined Baker, Masey and Kendall, 1904. Own practice 1913. Wins commission for UCT design, 1916. Commissioned to work on Vergelegen additions. Suicide, 1920.
Stanford, Sir Walter E.	Politician	Born 1850, Cape. Secretary of Native Affairs. Member of SA Native Affairs Commission. Committee Member of SANS c1931.
Struben, Charles F.W.	Lawyer	Born 1877, Transvaal. Member of the Closer Union Society, Executive Committee, 1909. Struben was also a member of the SANS Executive Committee. Member of Supreme Court Bar.
Struben, Edith	Artist	Daughter of C. Struben. Member of SANS, c.1923. Had scale model replica of Groot Constantia's wine cellar pediment placed over fireplace of Luncarty, by Kendall.
Stuttaford, Richard	Politician, Businessman	Born 1870, Cape. Treasurer of the Closer Union Society, 1909. Motivated and produced Pinelands Garden City. MLA, Newlands.
Thompson, Albert John	Architect	Born 1878. Worked for Raymond Unwin on the Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb layouts in England. Came to South Africa after WWI to layout Pinelands Garden City, and Langa township. Later laid out Durban North suburb, Durban, and the Yaba suburb in Lagos, Nigeria.
Trotter, Alys Fane	Artist Writer	Born1863, England. South Africa 1896-1898. Author of books on Cape settler history and Cape Dutch architecture.
Walgate, Charles Percy	Architect	Born 1886, England. South Africa, 1920. Designed Vergelegen after Solomon's suicide.
Waugh, Edward H.	Architect	Born 1872, Australia. Association of Transvaal Architects, Member of Council, 1914.

Appendix B: South African National Society, 1923.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

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Baxter, Duncan, Esq., Main Road, Wynberg.
Bean, David Esq., "The Glen," Kensington Crescent, Cape Town.
Beard, H. Esq., P.O. Box 48, Cape Town.
Beard, Henry R. Esq., P.O. Box 48, Cape Town.
Beattie, Sir Carruthers, Cape Town University, Cape Town.
Beck, Lady, De Oude Drostdij, Tulbagh.
Bender, The Rev. A. P., M.A., 31 Hatfield Street, Cape Town.
Bisset, W. Murray, Esq., K.C., M.L.A., Plumstead.
Blackman, A. C. M., Esq., Greenoge, Cornwall Place, Wynberg.
Bolus, Mrs. F.. Eyton Road, Claremont.
Botha. C. Graham Esq., Archives Dept. Houses of Parliament, Cape Town.
Bright, H. H. Esq., Charlton House, Mowbray.
Brown, D. M. Esq., M.L.A., Houses of Parliament, Cape Town.
Brydone, R. R. Esq., 73 St. George's Street, Cape Town.
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Cloete, P. A. M. Esq., Wynberg.
Close. J. E. P. Esq.. Colonial Mutual Building, Cape Town
Close, Adv. R. W., K.C., "Heatherton," Newlands.
Cory, Sir George, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
Crawford, Prof. L., Cape Town University, Cape Town.
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Currey, the Hon. H., Rondebosch.
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De Villiers, Lord, Stellenbosch.
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De Waal, Sir Fred., "Highclare," Wynberg.
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Fairbairn, J., Esq., Houses of Parliament, Cape Town.
Fairbridge, Miss, Paradise Estate, Claremont.
Fairbridge W. G. Esq., Monmouth Avenue, Paradise Estate, Claremont.
Finch, J. R. Esq., J .P., City Hall, Cape Town.
Fuller, Senator the Hon. Arthur, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town.
Fuller, Dr. E.B., Rosmead Avenue, Cape Town.
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Gardiner, Mr. Justice, " Errol," Cumnor Road, Wynberg.
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Graham, the Hon. Justice, Grahamstown,

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Hilliard, A. Esq., Annandale Street, Cape Town.
Hofmeyr, Gys, R. Esq., C.M.G. Windhoek, S.W.A.
Hugo, Dr., Civil Service Club, Cape Town.
Innes Lady Rose, C.B.E, "Karatara"' Kenilworth, Cape.
Innes, the Rt. Ron. Sir James, Rose, K.C.M.G. " Karatara," Kenilworth.
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Jardine, W. Major, "Craigdhu," Tamboer's Kloof, Cape Town.
Jeffreys, Miss K. Archives Department, Cape Town.
Jones Miss L. Alexandra Club, Cape Town.
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Kilpin, Ralph, Esq., Kenilworth, Cape.
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Lung, Basil K. Esq.. Hof Street, Cape Town.
Lubbert, Dr., Burger Buildings, Keerom Street, Cape Town.
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Malan, the Rev. G., Oranjezicht, Cape Town.
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Mentz, Col. the Hon. H., Houses of Parliament, Cape Town.
Merriman, the Rt. Hon., J.X, P.C., M.L.A., Stellenbosch.
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Mills, Gordon, Esq., Wale Street, Cape Town.
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Morrison. W. R., Esq., " Cape Times " Buildings, Cape Town.
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McEwen, T. S. Esq., Civil Service Club, Cape Town.
McIntosh, Wm. Sir. Esq., M.L.A., Port Elizabeth.
Nash, Maynard, Esq., Civil Service Club, Cape Town.
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Oliver. Henry A. Esq., M.L.A., House of Parliament, Cape Town.
Papenfus, Herbert B., Esq., M.L.A.
Payne, Chas, Villiersdorp.
Phillips, Lady Lionel, Somerset West.
Pickstone, H. E. V., Esq., " Lekkerwijn," Groot Drakenstein.
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Porte, G. Esq., Cape Town University, Cape Town. ,
Powrie, Joseph, Esq., Mossel Bay.
Price, the Rev. Canon, George. .
Purcell, Mrs. " Bergvliet," Diep River.
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Rissik, Johannes, Office of Minister of Railways and Harbours, Cape Town.
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Robinson, G. Crossland, Esq., T .Long Street, Cape Town.
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Roos, J. De V. Esq., Pretoria.
Runciman, T. W., Esq., Simonstown.
Sauer, Mrs., "Uitkyk," Mulders Vlei.
Schonken, Mrs. J. D., Brandfort, O.F.S.
Schreiner, Cronwright S. Esq., P.O. Box 1875, Cape Town.
Schweizer, Senator C. H., House of Parliament Cape Town.
Searle, Sir Malcolm, Supreme Court, Cape Town.
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Silberbauer, C. <:" Esq., .T p" Provincial Chambers, Cape Town.
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Solly, Mrs. H. Le Gay, "Knor Hook," Sir Lowry's Pass.
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Tanner. Brig: Gen. E.C., C.B., C.M.G, D.S.O., the Castle, Cape Town.
Taylor, J. B. Esq., Wynberg.

Taylor, Sidney. Esq., Adderley Street; Cape Town.
Tennant, D. Esq., J.P., Stellenbosch.
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Mrs. A. May, Lambert Road, Durban.
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Mr. Harry Millar, Gillitts, Natal.
Mr. Middlebrook, Davenport Road, Durban.
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Mr. H. A. Thorpe, Durban.
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Mr. Justice Farrer, 90 College Road, P.M.B.
Major F. H. S. Giles, Victoria Club, P.M.B.
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H.H. Sir George Plowman, Administrator of Natal.

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Mr. E. Warren, 67 Loop Street, P.M.B.
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Appendix C: Koopmans-de-Wet, Special Committee, 1913

Executive Committee

Mrs Louis Botha
Mrs J.W. Sauer
Mrs A. Fischer
Mrs F.S. Malan
Mrs H. Burton
Lady Innes
Lady Solomon
Lady Beck
Lady Phillips
Mrs Hands (Mayoress Cape Town)
Mrs C.C. de Villiers
Mrs C.P. Schultze
Mrs Dr. Reinecke
Mrs B.P. Marchand
Mrs Nellie Hauptfleisch
Mrs Maitland Park
Mrs Purcell
Mrs Roos
Sir Lionel Phillips
Sir Meiring Beck
The Mayor of Cape Town (treasurer)
Dr. Mailand Park
Sir Frederick Smith
Mr. J.W. Jagger
Rev. J.P. Van Heerden
Rev. A.P. Bender
Mr. Jan Graaff
Mr. Duncan Baxter
Mr. H. Liberman
Mr. J.J. Centlivres
Mr. R.R Brydone
Mr. J.R. Finch (Town Clerk)
Mr. C.P. Schultz

General Committee

Lady de Villiers
Mrs Merriman
The Hon. Alice Cloete
Lady de Waal
Lady Carter
Mrs Steytler (Rev.)
Lady Molteno
Lady Buchanan
Mrs J.A.C. Graaff
Lady Farrar
Lady Albu
Lady Smartt
Lady Fitspatrick
Lady Juta
Lady Mitchell
Lady Smith
Lady Cullinan
Lady Langerman
Lady Thorne
Mrs J.H. Hofmeyr
Mrs W.P Schreiner
Mrs H.L. Currey
Mrs Leuchars
Mrs Conwright Schreiner
Mrs Jagger
Mrs Duncan Baxter
Mrs J.P. Van Heerden
Mrs Struben
Mrs Rymer
Mrs Gurney
Mrs Justice Smith
Mrs Rawbone
Mrs H. de Smidt
Mrs Kingsley
Mrs Hoy
Mrs S. Hofmeyr
Mrs Brown Lawrence
Mrs Dempers
Mrs J.C. Molteno
Mrs C. Murray
Mrs Dr. Brown
Mrs Dr. Wessels
Mrs Dr. Arenhold
Mrs Noble
Mrs Noel Janisch

Mrs Mansergh
Mrs Centlivres
Mrs M.L. Wessels
Mrs Spilhaus
Mrs Cornish Bowden
Mrs Jan Graaff
Mrs J. Marks
Miss Fairbridge
Miss E. van Heerden
Miss Woods
Miss Metlerkamp
Mrs J.J. Michau
Mrs J.S. de Villiers
Mrs Christian Marais
Mrs C. Liffs
Lord de Villiers
Rt. Hon. J.X. Merriman
President Reitz
The Archbishop
Rev. A.I. Steytler
Sir William Thorne
Rev. Dr. Kolbe
Major Cowper
Dr. Peringuey
Mr. W.E. Gurney
Mr. Noel Janisch
Mr. L. Mansergh
Sir Henry Juta
Dr. Muir
Dr. Purcell
Mr. M.L. Wessels
Mr. J.C. Molteno
Dr. C. Murray
Mr. J.J. Michau
Mr. J.S. de Villiers

Appendix D: List of Photographs, Empire Exhibition, 1924

("Cape Dutch" buildings shown to the right)

Mail Steamers in Table Bay
New Road, Chapman's Peak (3)
Buttress, Table Mountain
Panoramic View of Cape Town
Witte River Gorge, Bain's Kloof
Cape Point
Bishopscourt Avenue
Buttress through Clouds
Victoria Road
Rheezicht

Mountaineering, Table Mountain (3)
The Castle

Groot Constantia
The Terrace, Groot Schuur

Grape Packing, Chiltern

Groot Schuur

Native Group
Xmas Flowers, Wynberg Park

Klein Constantia
Pediment, Groot Constantia
Rhone

Cape Town showing Table Bay
St. George's Street
Muizenberg
Silver Trees, Kirstenbosch
Adderley Street
Camps Bay (2)
Standard Bank
Mount Nelson Hotel

Tokai *Stoep*

The Pier
Sea Point Pavilion
Flower Sellers
Simonstown
St. James and Kalk Bay
Aloe at Kirstenbosch
Wynberg Golf Course
Somerset Strand
Main Gateway, the Castle
Technical College
The Library
Surfing, Muizenberg (2)
City Hall
Mitchell's Pass

"Alphen"

Camps Bay Bowling Green

"La Provence"

Three Anchor Bay
Bathing, Sea Point
The Cape University
The Old Town House (now the Michaelis Gallery)
Bain's Kloof
Street in Stellenbosch
Kirstenbosch Road
View from the top of Table Mountain
Malay Mosque
Hottentots Holland

Lourensford

House of Parliament
Rhodes Memorial

"Nectar"
Homestead